

Q: What do the United States and South Africa have in common?



Bob Fitch

A: They are the only advanced industrial nations without a national health plan.

A SPECIAL REPORT ON AMERICA'S JOKE ON THE SICK

*Carter's
malpractice.*

PAGE

3



*Kennedy's
wonder-drug.*

PAGE

4



THE INSIDE STORY



Rev. Jesse Jackson and Rev. Joseph Lowery.

Jesse Jackson and SCLC reunited

By Robin Schulberg

CHICAGO

Saturday morning meetings at PUSH headquarters in Chicago are a tradition going back to the days when Rev. Jesse Jackson ran Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In 1971, Jackson broke with SCLC and established People United to Save Humanity, but the Saturday meetings continued.

Saturday, June 23, was a special occasion. Rev. Joseph Lowery, SCLC President, flew up from Atlanta to be the keynote speaker at PUSH's "SCLC Day." The event marked, said Rev. Jackson at a press conference after the meeting, "the formalization of an operating unity" between the two organizations. "PUSH and SCLC are reviving a very public relationship and are going to escalate direct action for jobs and economic change," he announced.

The form this public relationship will take is still on the drawing boards. The Chicago chapters of both organizations are working together in a PUSH-initiated Coalition for Social Change. Beyond that, discussions are under way for joint board meetings and coordinated marches in 20 cities on Aug. 28, the 16th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington.

Neither Jackson nor Lowery are anxious to discuss the differences that led to Jackson's departure from SCLC in 1971. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who founded SCLC in 1957, personally appointed Jackson to head the Chicago-based Breadbasket, and Jackson was the one who cradled King's head in his lap after King was shot in Memphis in 1968.

But by 1971, with Jackson making big news leading pickets and boycotts to demand jobs for blacks and contracts for black businesses, relations between "the country preacher" in the big city and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, King's successor as SCLC president, were strained.

When Jackson failed to clear the financial arrangements for his Black Expo fundraiser through the Atlanta headquarters, Abernathy suspended him for 60 days. "I love that organization, but I got to grow," said Jackson as he resigned, taking the 35-member board of SCLC's Chicago chapter with him. Within the month, he established Operation PUSH, with such local notables as Carl Stokes, Richard Hatcher, Gordy Berry and John Johnson on its board of directors.

"Maybe we should have stayed together," says PUSH Staff Vice President and Special Assistant Rev. George "Ed" Riddick, who has been with Jackson since the SCLC days. "But that's history and there's no point going back into it now."

If Jackson and Lowery dismiss the differences that once separated the two organizations, they're very eager to discuss the issues that bring them together now: unemployment, attacks on affirmative action, discrimination in housing, school segregation, the Klan and police brutality.

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tality. It all adds up to what Riddick describes as "an accelerated pace of going backwards."

SCLC has seen it firsthand in Decatur, Ala., where a year ago it launched a campaign to free Tommy Lee Hines, a mentally retarded black man accused of three rapes. In response to black demonstrations that threatened to challenge the racist deprivation of justice, the Klan came out with their robes and rifles, shooting into a Hines march, May 26. Said Lowery in Chicago, "The resurgence of the Klan is encouraged by the climate in this country." He noted that President Carter deplores violence on the part of the truckers but is silent when blacks are murdered.

Operation PUSH is involved in efforts to force Chicago to comply with federal desegregation orders side-stepped by the city for years. Referring to this issue as well as others, Jackson said, "The legislative process without agitation has failed. The promises of the President have failed. The time has come to go back to the streets, to go outside the political process to open it up again."

In this situation, Riddick sees "unity as a matter of survival." But that's only part of the story. The worsening situation presents not only the necessity, but also opportunities, for renewed activism. Both organizations have grown significantly in the last two years, with SCLC gaining 20-30 new chapters since Lowery became president, and PUSH membership climbing from 60,000 to 100,000.

The escalating attacks on black people have already led to the kind of direct action Jackson is talking about in New York, Philadelphia, northern Mississippi and Decatur. The Black United Front in Brooklyn captured the changing mood among blacks with its slogan "Enough is enough is enough." The way a number of activists read the times, a new upsurge among black people is on the horizon. But who will lead them is still a wide-open question.

The PUSH-SCLC alliance will strengthen each organization's ability to meet the challenge, according to Riddick. "We see the value of coalitions where each group brings its particular skills and specialties to the matter," he said.

But it's too early to tell if they will be able to do the job. Critics of Jackson, including Barbara Sizemore, former Superintendent of Washington D.C. schools, says he takes the heat off the system by blaming blacks for the problems they face. Critics of Lowery dislike the way SCLC discouraged people from carrying guns in self-defense on the Tommy Lee Hines marches in Decatur.

At the same time, both organizations have, as Riddick described it in reference to SCLC, a "history and credibility" that will help make them a force to reckon with in the coming period.

Steel local backs nationalization

By Paul Baker

GARY, IND.

"The attack on labor is not just at the collective bargaining table—it is clear to our members when they wait in long lines to pay more than one dollar a gallon for gas."

Objecting that "the oil companies are holding us for ransom," 743 delegates to the annual District 31 Steelworkers Union Conference, held near Gary, Ind., voted unanimously to "call on the federal government to im-

mediately take control of all basic energy resources, cancel the nuclear power program, and begin immediate implementation of renewable technologies."

District 31, with about 120,000 members, is the largest of the steelworkers' districts across the U.S. and Canada. It is also the heart of the reform forces in the union, in opposition to International President Lloyd McBride on such issues as the "right to ratify" (direct membership approval of national contracts—presently the International Executive Board approves such contracts) and the elimination of the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (a "no-strike" agreement under which all union-management differences are sent to arbitration). The largest local in the district, local 1010, was the subject of a recent CBS television special.

District 31 has spawned Ed Sadlowski, who opposed McBride in the last presidential elections and leftists Jim Balanoff, former president of local 1010 and presently District Director, and Alice Peurala, president of local 65, the first woman president of a basic steel local. At last year's conference Balanoff was indirectly attacked from the podium by a representative of the International. This year, the International's representatives, Treasurer Frank McKee and Vice-President Leon Lynch were more conciliatory.

Treasurer McKee gave not-so-veiled support to Governor Jerry Brown, saying "Out in California, where my good friend Jerry Brown is ready to give President Carter an itchy rash..." McKee is reportedly lobbying other Executive Board members for Brown.



Mike Olszanski supports energy resolution.

Presidential campaigns can affect internal union politics. Balanoff would like to be identified with pro-Kennedy forces, especially if McBride supports Carter, however he is "leaving the door open to support third party candidates." At the last minute, in his opening address, while discussing a replacement for Stevenson's seat in Illinois, Balanoff changed his text from a good pro-labor Democrat to "a good pro-labor candidate."

At last year's conference, the debate on issues such as the right to ratify, ENA, women's issues, and opposition to a local nuclear power plant was spirited. This year there was no opposition or debate on any resolution—all passed with no vocal opposition and little voting opposition.

Increasingly, the paths of labor are crossing the paths of the various left movements, among women, blacks and anti-nuclear activists, for example. District 31 may be a bellwether of this development. Resolutions on the establishment of local union women's committees, and calls for active support of the ERA, employer-funded childcare, and equal insurance coverage for women passed without opposition. A call for solidarity with black South African workers and support for affirmative action programs were passed.

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Jimmy Carter lets national health die on Kennedy's desk

By John Judis

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE AMERICAN HEALTH SYSTEM is a travesty. The U.S. spends more *per capita* on health care than any other country but it is 19th among advanced industrial nations in male life expectancy, 10th in maternal mortality, and 15th in infant mortality.

Health care costs rose twice as fast as other costs from 1966 to 1976. In the last five years, they have jumped over 70 percent.

Ten percent of Americans have no health insurance. Another ten percent have Medicare or Medicaid. Under Medicare, the average out-of-pocket medical costs for a person over 65 have risen from \$250 a year, before Medicare, to \$400 a year after Medicare.

Of the 80 percent who have private insurance, only 60 percent are "adequately" insured. Adequate insurance costs an average of \$1150 a year for a family of four; it has a \$100 deductible; it pays only 80 percent of charges and only 120 days hospitalization.

There is only one other advanced industrial country besides the U.S. that has no national health insurance or service: South Africa.

Critics of the American health system have long held that some form of national health insurance or service is an essential starting point for reforming the system. It will not simply remove the threat of bankruptcy that now hangs over the average American family; it will provide the government with a lever that it *could use*

to institute sweeping cost controls and quality improvements.

They point to Great Britain, with its national health service, and Canada, with its national health insurance, as signs of what could be done in the U.S. Both Canada and Britain have achieved better national health records at substantially lower costs.

Where in the U.S. health care costs have risen from 6.5 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP) in 1968 to 8.8 percent in 1978, they have remained steadily at 7 percent in Canada and 6 percent in Britain.

Carter's promises

During his 1976 campaign, Jimmy Carter committed himself to "universal, mandatory national health insurance." He expressed some misgivings about the Kennedy-Corman bill, which had been introduced in 1975, because it financed national health insurance through the social security system rather than through private insurance and Blue Cross-Blue Shield. But he promised a bill that would be similar in scope and coverage.

Carter's promises on health insurance have proved to be as reliable as his promises on defense spending and gas and oil prices.

This summer, Carter came out against a national health insurance bill sponsored by Sen. Kennedy which had been drawn to meet Carter's objections to Kennedy-Corman. And he came out in favor of a plan for catastrophic national health insurance that would discriminate against lower-income people, fan the flames of medical costs, and postpone still further the adoption of a comprehensive policy.

AMA still public enemy no. 1 of America's health

The American Medical Association (AMA) to which half of the nation's 350,000 doctors belong has been and still is the foremost enemy of any remotely progressive form of national health insurance. After World War II, it created a spectre of "socialized medicine" to defeat the Truman national health insurance bills. In 1979, with the public less concerned about how the doctors receive their paychecks, the AMA is borrowing a page from Jimmy Carter's book. Its resolution on national health insurance says it is worried about "the rising costs of health care and effect that a massive federal program would have on an already overheated segment of the economy."

Until the 70s, the AMA opposed all national health insurance bills, but with even Richard Nixon advocating it, the AMA decided it should offer an alternative. As one might expect, the AMA proposals have not been cost-cutters. In the past, they have proposed giving graduated income tax credits to consumers buying health insurance. This would guarantee doctors' payment and not lead to a noxious bureaucracy that might oversee doctors' fees.

Now they are going to back some form of catastrophic national health insurance along the lines being proposed by Russell Long, Robert Dole, and Jimmy Carter. "Politically, it is the only viable health insurance plan in the Congress today," AMA spokesman Chesly Wilson told me in their Washington office.

The AMA is opposed to federal cost

controls and "first dollar" service—meaning medical care without deductibles. "If anybody can walk into a physician's office anytime he wants, you're going to bog the system down," Wilson said.

When I asked Wilson whether the AMA's insistence on deductibles didn't discriminate against the poor, he suggested that we could end the interview right there. "I've been in this business 20 years, and I can't get into a far-reaching discussion," he said.

To show me that the AMA didn't throw the most weight on health care legislation, he showed me a report on lobbying costs. There was the AMA behind the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, and Common Cause. Wilson failed to note, however, that *all* the AMA's lobbying expenses are concentrated on health care legislation.

A recent Federal Elections Commission Report on campaign spending in the 1978 elections puts the AMA's Political Action Committee on top of the list with \$1,644,795 spent, compared, for instance, to \$920,841 for the AFL-CIO.

While the AMA is expected to oppose Kennedy's new national health insurance bill, it did see positive changes from the old Kennedy bill. Wrote Washington editor Ted Lewis of the *American Medical News*: "The capitulation of organized labor and Sen. Edward Kennedy on national health insurance marks a historic turning point in American medicine—the end of the drive for a federalized system of health care."



Richard Stroh/CPA

Carter ignored commitments he had made not only to Kennedy and to labor supporters of national health insurance; he also angered officials in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department (HEW), who had joined his administration in order to help author a health insurance bill.

Through interviews with Kennedy aides, labor officials, and both present and past members of the Carter administration, I have been able to construct this history of broken promises. It is a history of both vacillation and betrayal, of political ineptness and conservatism.

A glance at this history also reveals that the difference between the Carter and Kennedy approaches is not, as one administration spokesman claimed, merely "procedural," but substantive.

Carter vs. Kennedy

In March 1978, after having put off any discussion of national health insurance for 14 months, Carter finally met with Kennedy, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Douglas Fraser and both George Meany and Lane Kirkland from the AFL-CIO. He promised to develop a national health insurance plan by summer.

Kennedy and the labor officials, acting through the Committee for National Health Insurance (CNHI), began devising their own plan, which could be used as a basis of subsequent negotiations with the Carter administration. In accordance with Carter's insistence that the insurance companies play a "significant role" and his fear of a measure that would draw billions directly from the federal treasury, the CNHI drew up a bill in which employers would buy policies directly from the insurance companies.

According to CNHI director Max Fine, the CNHI planned a late summer rally in Madison Square Garden to kick off the campaign for national health insurance.

But in late July, Carter announced that he would not submit a bill, only a list of principles. Among these principles was one that violated his commitment to promoting a bill similar in coverage to the Kennedy-Corman bill. According to this principle, a national plan should assume that many consumers "are able to share a moderate portion of the cost of their care." This meant that Carter was in favor of an insurance policy with deductibles. Because deductibles impose a much great-

er burden on the poor than the rich, labor has always opposed them.

HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano also hinted that any national health insurance bill would be phased in gradually, with the introduction of particular phases dependent on the prevailing rate of inflation.

Kennedy and the CNHI continued to draft a bill, which was outlined in hearings last October and will be finally presented in full this month, but they did so in order to force Carter to honor his earlier commitment. Meanwhile, Carter was moving steadily farther away from his March 1978 position.

Carter vs. HEW

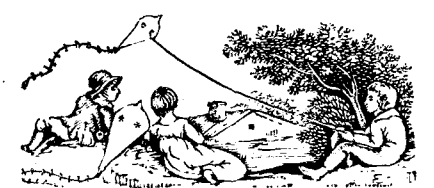
In early 1978, HEW staff members sent Carter a memorandum containing five prototypes for a national health insurance plan. One was similar to the Long-Ribicoff Catastrophic Insurance Bill, which allowed for insurance only after someone had spent \$2000 or had been hospitalized 60 days, but the other four were all plans for comprehensive, universal, and mandatory coverage.

The Office of Management and the Budget (OMB), the Treasury Department, and the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) backed the plan for catastrophic insurance. CEA head Charles Schultze and Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal argued that a comprehensive program

Continued on page 18.

SUMMER VACATION!

In These Times will not publish the last week of July and the first week in August. Our issue dated July 18-24 will be followed by the issue dated August 8-14.





Kennedy vs. Dellums plans: will only a revolution work?

Kennedy's health plan could turn out to be another boondoggle like Medicare.

By John Judis

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE BATTLE FOR NATIONAL health insurance in the U.S. has ebbed and flowed ever since the American Association for Labor Legislation proposed it in 1914. It was beaten back then, revived in the 30s and 40s, all-but-silenced by the American Medical Association's Red Scare tactics; it returned in the late 60s in the wake of the Medicare and Medicaid legislative victories, and with health costs spiralling, it is on the political agenda again.

There are two very different bills before Congress now—one that is being introduced by Sen. Edward Kennedy calling for national health *insurance* and another that has been introduced by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) calling for a national health *service*. Neither bill will be enacted by the 96th Congress. The Dellums supporters will be lucky if their bill is discussed in hearings. But as a recession worsens and the national mood shifts back toward strong government intervention in the private economy, the pressure for some kind of national health insurance will mount.

The Kennedy bill was the product of compromise with the Carter administration. Its proponents acknowledge its limitations, but describe it as "enactable." The Dellums bill has been branded as "utopian," but its proponents see it as the only realistic way to reform American medicine.

Origins of the Kennedy bill.

The late Walter Reuther, who was president of the UAW, established the Committee for National Health Insurance (CNHI) in 1968 with Max Fine as its director. CNHI's membership included the major unions, black and women's organizations, consumer groups, and the

National Council of Senior Citizens. Except for one brief period, it has worked hand-in-hand with Kennedy.

Kennedy's involvement in the health insurance issue dates from 1970, when he backed the NCHI's bill. In 1971 he became chairman of the Senate Health Subcommittee.

Kennedy has backed three different health insurance measures since then, giving up ground and then reclaiming it depending on the political winds blowing in Congress. In 1973, to avoid being isolated on the left by Richard Nixon's health insurance proposal, Kennedy joined forces with Wilbur Mills to present a bill that would have used the insurance companies as fiscal intermediaries and would have required a \$250 deductible. CNHI refused to back this bill.

In 1975, Kennedy came back with Kennedy-Corman, which financed national health insurance through the Social Security system.

In 1979, Kennedy is introducing a bill that reflects an earlier compromise with Carter. Again, Kennedy is afraid of being isolated on the left, without sufficient congressional support to affect the debate over health insurance.

Both Kennedy and CNHI say they would prefer a system that eliminates the Blues and the private insurance companies altogether, but they see them as too powerful to defeat. Their present strategy calls for neutralizing the insurance companies and isolating the American Medical Association on the right.

The Kennedy bill includes these provisions:

- Coverage will be comprehensive, mandatory, and universal.

- Employers will purchase policies for their employees either from insurance companies or Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). The employees will have to pay no more than 35 percent of the premium's cost, which will be based on income. The unemployed and retired will be covered directly through the federal government.

- Hospital and physicians' costs will be set through negotiations between the providers (hospitals and physicians), the insurance companies, and the consumers.

- Initially, doctors' fees will be allowed to rise to the level set by Medicare if they are lower when the plan goes into effect. If they are higher, they will be allowed to remain higher.

- Quality of care will be overseen by Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSROs), which are run by the medical profession, and by state and national boards.

Some union officials privately expressed

their dismay at the Kennedy bill. One official said he would bet me "dollars to doughnuts that before the summer is over, there is a Carter-Long-Kennedy health insurance bill." Backers of the bill strenuously deny this.

Left-wing critics have argued that the bill will not curb health care costs nor improve the quality of medical care. Like Medicare, it will provide a boondoggle for doctors, drug companies, medical supply houses, and insurance companies.

Part of their arguments rest on the difference in costs between this Kennedy bill and Kennedy-Corman or a tax-financed insurance plan. A Congressional Budget Office (CBO) study of what health care costs would be under different plans estimated that, with premium-financed insurance, total U.S. health care costs in 1981 would be \$249 billion; with tax-financed insurance, they would be \$229 billion. Costs under premium-financed insurance are higher because of the profits and overhead included in the insurance premiums. One health expert estimated that they account for as much as 40 percent of the premiums.

Recognizing this, corporations like Firestone, B.F. Goodrich, and Reynolds Metal have set up their own employee insurance programs. B.F. Goodrich estimated a 3 to 5 percent savings in health bills.

But there is a more damning criticism of the Kennedy plan: it may not be cheaper than no health insurance at all. Kennedy has conceded that the concessions offered to doctors on their fees will cause his health plan's cost in 1983 to exceed what consumers would have paid for the same services without a health plan: \$211.4 billion to \$171.4 billion. But Kennedy argues that after four years, the costs would begin to be considerably less than they would be without any health plan.

Critics are skeptical of this claim. The plan's success would depend on the ability of consumers to hold their own in ostensibly three-party negotiations with insurance companies and health care providers. But the insurance companies are closely linked to doctors and hospitals. Blue Cross was founded by the American

Continued on page 18.

A doctor who backs Dellums bill

"The fatal curse is that we have chosen to deal with health service as commodity relations," Quentin Young said. "We're not going to do anything until we remove the stimulus to make money off peoples' illnesses."

Quentin Young is chairman of the Department of Medicine at Cook County Hospital in Chicago. He was a founder of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. He also helped found and is presently on the board of the Committee for a National Health Service, which supports the Dellums Bill.

Young is now fighting to save Cook County Hospital from the county and state legislators who want to close it down and leave Chicago's poor at the mercy of private hospitals. As we talked, we were constantly interrupted by the phone. But Young managed to take off exactly where he left off each time the phone rang.

He reeled off what he saw as the effect of health being a commodity: not only the rising costs, but the lack of attention to industrial health and preventive medicine, unnecessary surgery, the maldistribution of medical technology and doctors ("There are more doctors in the Old Orchard (suburban) shopping center than in the whole West Side ghetto"), and even the rise in malpractice suits ("If a patient trusts a doctor, he can cut off the wrong leg").

Young is skeptical about national health insurance because it does not effect fee-for-service medicine. "I fear it will not solve any problem it is addressing," he said. "It is basically a government subsidy to private medicine. And it is going to create an incredible increase



Dr. Quentin Young.

in costs. If there is one thing we know, it is the ability of the private sector to make a big killing on government programs."

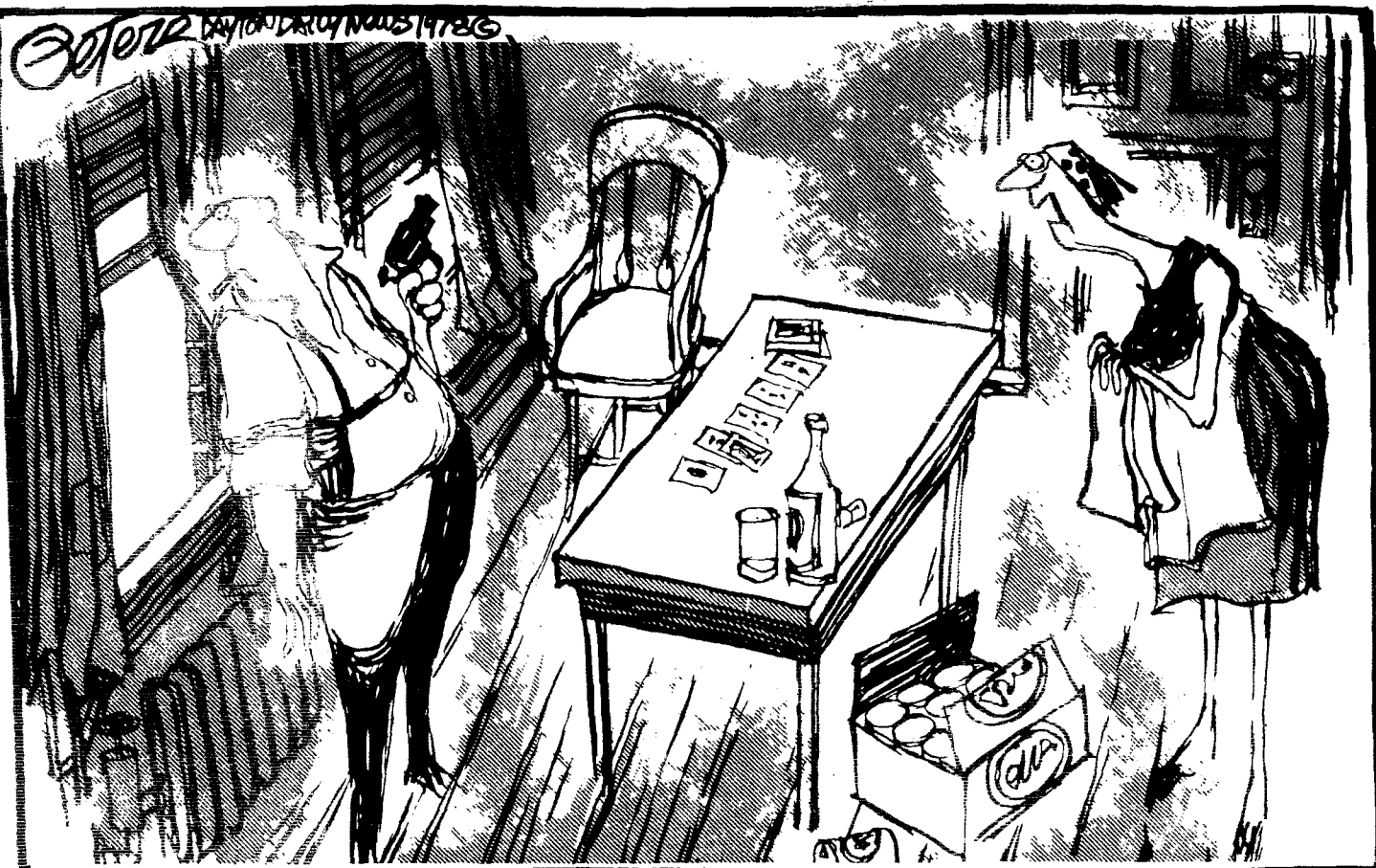
Young favors a national health service as the only way to cut costs and improve the quality of care. In his public talks, he often asks the audience to repeat the words "socialized medicine" as a way of removing the AMA-induced taboo.

He admitted that bureaucracy could be a problem, but he sees its counterweight in democratic control. "You have to vest control in small working groups," he said. "All the superstructure must be restricted in its ability to confound and divert."

Young doesn't expect to win the battle for a national health service in the immediate future. But he sees the history of the medical industry pointing toward a choice between a corporate model and a democratic model of health care. In either case, doctors will become salaried professionals rather than independent entrepreneurs.

Quentin Young's pamphlet, *The Crisis in Health Care and its Remedy*, is available from UE, 11 East 51st St., New York 10022.

IN SHORT



I CAN'T TAKE IT ANYMORE... THE BURGLARIES... THE BREAK-INS... RUNNING FROM THE COPS... CHARLIE, YOU'VE GOT TO QUIT THE FBI.

Viola Liuzzo's family sues FBI

DETROIT—The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed suit in federal court last week claiming the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) must accept responsibility for their failure to use information they obtained from local agencies and a paid FBI informer, Gary Thomas Rowe, to prevent the 1965 Alabama murder of Detroit civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.

Liuzzo was shot to death from a pass-

ing car as she drove her car between Selma and Montgomery during the Voting Rights march. The suit alleges that Rowe fired the shot that killed Liuzzo and that the FBI waged a slander campaign after the murder to aid in a cover-up.

Howard Simon, executive director of the Michigan ACLU said, "There is an obligation on the part of the U.S. government to people who are wronged by the government. Congress should legislate

an end to the failure of the FBI to adequately supervise its agents."

Rowe, under federal indictment for the killing, is to stand trial in Alabama this fall. Although the outcome of Rowe's trial does not directly affect the claim against the FBI, ACLU officials say a conviction would "sew up their case."

The suit, filed on behalf of the five Liuzzo children, is asking the federal government for \$2 million in damages.

Clamshell alliance cases dismissed

PORTSMOUTH— "We won," said Roy Morrison, spokesperson for the Clamshell Alliance anti-nuclear group in New Hampshire, "All our demands were met."

The 709 protesters arrested for "criminal trespass" at the Seabrook Nuclear Plant over two years ago had their cases dismissed or sentences suspended.

The Rockingham County Superior Court, which was to hear the arraignments of the 1977 occupiers July 9, met early last week and decided to dismiss the charges because the defendants were denied their right to a speedy trial.

County attorney Carlton Eldredge, whose resignation has been called for by the *Manchester Union Leader*, the New Hampshire newspaper known for its conservative views, said the reason the charges were dropped was "diminishing social significance" and the cost to the county of hearing the cases.

In anticipation of the July 9 trials the Clamshell Alliance had called for an encampment on the grounds of the courthouse to give defendants and supporters a chance to formulate collective responses to the court. A few days before the scheduled event the court handed down its decision to dismiss the cases. The encampment was cancelled. "April 1977 is over," said Eva Gibavic, legal coordinator for the Alliance.

IPS honors blackballed agent

WASHINGTON—Andrew J. Susce, 70, a former Internal Revenue Service agent who was fired and blackballed from further government service for too zealously

investigating the tax case of John Sebastian La Rocca, 1940s Mafia boss in southwestern Pennsylvania, was feted at a party June 28 by the Government Accountability Project (GAP) of the Institute for Policy Studies.

In addition to having Susce dismissed from his job, La Rocca's friends in government arranged to have his incriminating La Rocca report "misfiled" until 1953. The report was turned over to federal investigators after the statute of limitations had expired.

John P. Hayes details Susce's 35-year struggle to clear his name and make public the evidence he uncovered in his recently released book, *Lonely Fighter: One Man's Battle with the U.S. Government*.

The GAP offers advice and moral support to government employees who blow the whistle on illegal or unethical government practices.

Referendum on nukes in Maine

AUGUSTA, ME.—A 30-mile march from Maine's only nuclear plant to the state capital on the Fourth of July kicked off citizen action to ban nuclear energy in this state.

Over 400 foot-weary marchers were met by 300 more supporters after winding their way from the controversial Maine Yankee plant through the sunny Maine countryside to Augusta. During the state-house rally, referendum organizers announced plans to gather 37,500 signatures of voters by May 5, 1980.

The ballot proposition, entitled the Nuclear Fission Control Act, contains an outright prohibition of nuclear power and would be the first such effort that would result in the decommissioning of an existing plant by popular vote. State law does not provide for an initiative process, but state referendum measures have tradi-

tionally been passed on to the voters by the state legislature in Maine.

The referendum movement was spawned at a meeting in April in the town of Edgecomb (population 500) attended by over 1000 people incensed by the repeated shutdowns and safety hazards at the Maine Yankee plant in Wiscasset, 10 miles away. Its principal organizer, 37-year-old artist and sculptor Ray Shadis, founded the Edgecomb Citizens Committee Concerned About Nuclear Power and is emerging as the charismatic head of the referendum campaign.

—Bob Datz

Seattle passes first spy law

SEATTLE—The first ordinance to control police spying in the nation was approved by the Seattle city council on July 2, 1979.

The bill, to go into effect Jan 1, 1980, will restrict the collection of political, religious and sexual information by police.

Kate Pflaumer, a representative of the Coalition on Government Spying, said, "The ordinance severely limits those investigations which reach into First Amendment activities."

Although disappointed with the enforcement mechanisms, Coalition members believe good faith compliance should go a long way to prevent intrusive police spying.

The ordinance, drafted by representatives of the city's legal and law enforcement agencies, the Coalition and the Mayor's office provides for civil penalties and internal discipline procedures for substantial violations of its regulations.

"We hope other cities and states will use the Seattle ordinance as a basis for drafting legislation to suit their own needs," said Jerry Berman, legislative counsel for the American Civil Liberties

Union in Washington, D.C. "A law on the books in Seattle will make it easier for other localities to take the step."

Efforts to stop political surveillance by police are underway in Michigan, New York, California, Chicago and Washington, D.C.

USW Wins court decision

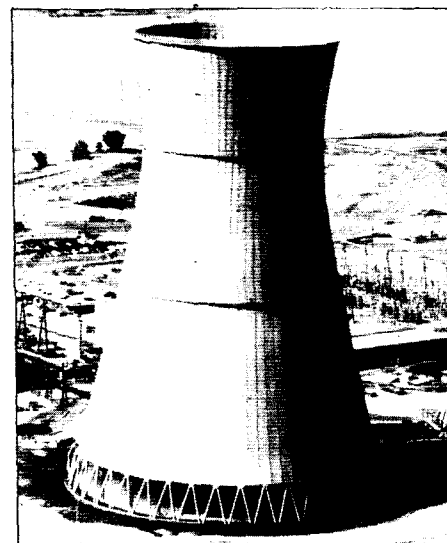
Union organizers at the Newport News (Va.) Shipbuilding Company have won an important legal victory in their effort to force the company to negotiate a contract. The National Labor Relations Board reaffirmed on June 27 an administrative law judge's ruling that the 1978 election of the United Steelworkers as bargaining agent for the 15-20,000 workers at the yard was valid.

The company had appealed the election to the Fourth Circuit Court, which asked the NLRB to review the charge of chain balloting, which was rejected. Now the company has announced that it will appeal the election again to the courts.

The Steelworkers struck for 12 weeks, ending April 22, to force the shipyard to negotiate. Union representatives had no comment on the NLRB decision or the company appeal.

—David Moberg

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.



ENDANGERING SPECIES

Nuclear reactors are an endangering species.

To people.

And to other living things.

Reactors produce cancer-causing wastes whose radioactivity lasts up to 500,000 years. No one knows how to dispose of them. Or where to put them.

Poison this dangerous can't be buried. It can't be dumped into the ocean. And people don't want waste storage facilities near their homes.

Obviously the problem can't be swept under the rug.

It's time to turn around and step forward into the solar future.

Friends of the Earth is working to get us there. We're an active conservation organization that lobbies, litigates and publishes essential information about safe energy. And "the living future."

We need your help to get the word out. Send us the coupon below and Friends of the Earth will tell you how your membership or tax deductible donations to our separate foundation can promote clean energy alternatives. For all of us.

The solar future begins today, with your help.

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IN THE NATION

URANIUM MINING



Indians and farmers demonstrate together against Black Hills uranium mining:
Inset: Indian demonstrator.

AIM gets new ally in uranium fight

By Jennifer Arlen & Peter Melnick

RAPID CITY, S.D.
IT WAS ONE OF THE STRANGEST scenes ever played out in the Black Hills of South Dakota: the mile-long line of Sioux Indians, anti-nuke activists and local ranchers snaked their way from Rapid City, S.D. up Nemo Canyon, protesting the proposed mining of uranium and other minerals that threaten the entire western half of the state.

The Hills are sacred land to the Sioux, who oppose the mining primarily on spiritual grounds. But because the mining poses serious environmental threats to the western half of the state, an almost unwitting alliance has formed between the Sioux and their traditional foes, the non-Indian farmers and ranchers.

"I have never been in a room with an AIM [American Indian Movement] member before," one elderly white woman, the wife of a rancher, said earlier this year at a meeting of the Black Hills Energy Coalition (BHEC), a citizens' group opposed to mining in the Hills. "But I agree with what you are saying and I don't believe in merely regulating the mining, either. I want to see it stop. And if it takes getting out there and taking my gun out there—by God, I'm gonna do it!"

The process of converting uranium ore into yellowcake, a more concentrated form, creates large quantities of radioactive byproducts called mill tailings. A brief period of uranium mining in the Hills in the 1950s produced 3.2 million tons of these tailings, which now sit outside the town of Edgemont, S.D., in Fall River County. According to 1975 statistics released by the South Dakota Department of Health, the cancer rate is 50 percent higher in Fall River County than in any other part of the state.

In addition, the mining may permanently deplete the water table in western South Dakota. The Department of Interior has slated five million acre-feet of water per year from the Missouri river for use by mining interests and other corporations—nearly one-third the total acre-feet of water available in any one year. Moreover, Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and other companies plan to tap

heavily into the Lakota and Fall River aquifers, the region's main source of underground water. The proposed uranium mining may drain the water table faster than the annual replacement rate of 10,000 acre-feet.

TVA's mining operation alone could render the Hills unsuitable for ranching and farming. TVA recently completed a two-week exploratory de-watering of the two main aquifers in the 101,000 acre Edgemont Project Area, to test the possible effects of uranium mining on local wells.

After two weeks of draining off 261 gallons per minute, many wells ran dry; several months later, some still have not recovered. When its mining operations get underway in 1980, TVA plans to take at least 675 gallons per minute from only one of its mine shafts, for at least ten years. By the time the energy companies are through mining the Hills, environmentalists fear, western South Dakota will be little more than a radioactive wasteland.

The whites and Indians may not be entirely comfortable in their new partnership,

but the very existence of the Energy Commission is enough to make any state politician sit up and take notice. Still, Coalition members fear the Federal government, hungry for new energy sources, is throwing its weight behind the energy companies.

Federally-operated TVA has leased 103,000 acres in the Hills, making it the largest mine interest in the Hills to date. Because of the wealth of Federal forces TVA has at its disposal to fight environmental regulation, BHEC members believe the government is using TVA as a "foot in the door" for the 26 privately owned companies seeking mining rights in the Black Hills.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the strength and determination of the mining interests is the legal imbroglio surrounding AIM's leader, Russel Means. Means is currently serving a four-year prison sentence at South Dakota state penitentiary for his role in a 1972 riot.

In February, Means participated in a work-release program in Rapid City, working for the Indian Service Council and the Black Hills Alliance, another anti-mining citizens' group. In early March, prison warden Herman Solem withdrew Means from the program, citing "significant opposition" within the Indian community.

Some members of the Rapid City community regard Solem's decision with suspicion, however, and suggest political foul play. "I think the state and the warden and the board of Charities and Corrections are using [complaints from the] Indian community as a scapegoat for the real reasons for not letting Russel come back here," Cleota Johnson, director of the Rapid City Indian-White Relations Committee, says, adding, "Certainly we have some opposition against Russel, but I don't think it's that great."

Alliance members believe that mining interests successfully pressured Solem into pulling Means from the Rapid City work-release program. They point out that the chairman of the board of Pardons and Paroles, Jeremiah Murphy, is also the chief South Dakota lobbyist for Union Carbide, the company with the second-largest lease interest in the Hills.

Murphy denies his position with Union Carbide has created any conflict of interest, pointing out that the board of Pardons and Paroles has no authority over the work-release program. "It's true that I am a friend of the warden's and a friend of governor William Janklow's," Murphy admits, "but I don't think you will find anyone who will challenge my integrity."

NUCLEAR WASTES

Charleston bans nuclear shipments

By Steve Hoffius

CHARLESTON, S.C.

South Carolina has for years been the center of nuclear development in this country. The state is the home of a nuclear submarine force, seven power plants (four operating, three under construction), a commercial low-level waste storage facility, a commercial fuel fabrication plant, the completed but unopened Allied General reprocessing plant, and the military's Savannah River Plant, which includes five reactors, facilities for storage of high and low level waste, fuel fabrication, and reprocessing of tritium and plutonium.

This month, South Carolina took the first step to stop the development. The Charleston City Council voted 5-4 with one abstention in favor of an ordinance that bans the shipment of commercial nuclear waste through the city.

The vote came just days before Nuclear Regulatory Commission officials arrived in town to investigate the use of Charleston's port for receiving the bulk of foreign spent fuel. The vote was a blow to the NRC—which must now search further for an East Coast port—and a beacon to the national anti-nuclear movement: if such an ordinance can be passed in South Carolina, why not hundreds of other communities as well?

According to requirements in the Atoms for Peace program, any foreign country that purchases a power plant from an American corporation must return its spent fuel to the U.S. Until recently, it was shipped primarily through Portsmouth, Va., and from there was trucked to Barnwell, S.C., storage facilities.

A recent interim guidance by the NRC (May 30, 1979), however, identified some American cities that, because of their dense populations, are to receive no nuclear materials except in times of emergency. Portsmouth, and a number of other East Coast ports, were included on that list; Charleston was not. The NRC document made a strong impression on city council members, claimed Charleston Palmetto Alliance members.

But the industry's many safety problems—especially after the accident at Three Mile Island—and its increasing reliance on South Carolina as a dump site also seemed to have quite a bit to do with the final vote. Mayor Joseph P. Riley, Jr., who supported the ordinance, announced before the vote, "I agree with Governor [Richard] Riley [no relation] that the entire nuclear cycle—from production of nuclear material to storage of waste—has not been thought out carefully enough. Until it is, and proper facilities are available for the permanent storage of dangerous nuclear material,

neither Charleston nor the State of South Carolina should be totally responsible for the transportation and storage of all nuclear waste, not only from this country, but from around the world."

Gov. Riley made headlines in March when he turned back a shipment of nuclear waste from Three Mile Island headed for a Barnwell storage facility.

Celebrating the council's decision, Kit Gage, a member of the Charleston Palmetto Alliance, said "This decision marks one of the first ordinances passed in the South and sends a clear message to the NRC that we do not take lightly their consideration of Charleston to be the primary East Coast port of entry.

"We will not take it, and we think other communities should not take it. We are caught in the middle of the nuclear industry's dilemmas: they must ship their waste through one of our cities. We can send no stronger message to the industry than to refuse this waste. The massive turnout at the city council meeting of black and white, women and men, young and old showed the ordinance was of major importance to everybody in the community. This diversity of support can be found in other communities as well."

Other anti-nuclear groups in Southern East Coast communities are already at work preparing similar ordinances for introduction to their city councils.

SHUTDOWN IV

By David Moberg

Unions, communities wage uphill battle against plant closings

WORKERS AT THE OLD Glidden paint factory in Ohio had been worried that their plant might be shut down. The SCM conglomerate had bought the parent firm, and the work force was shrinking. But when they went to management in 1974 with bargaining proposals to cover that possibility, the boss was reassuring. "Hey, you know us. We've been here since 1885," he said, as local union president Nick Kostandaras now recalls. "This is our main headquarters. We're not going to shut down. We're not going to go." Two years later, in January 1976, the plant was shut down, throwing out of work the 119 workers who remained out of the original 220 employees.

In their newly opened Cleveland office, the founders of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC) read about the closing. Many of them were former anti-war activists and local organizers who had discovered how disruptive plant closings could be not only for the workers affected but also for the whole community. They had decided in 1975 to build a coalition of labor unions, community groups, religious organizations, and other like-minded parties to do something about the closings, which they estimate have cost Ohio 80,000 jobs since 1970.

"In a lot of other situations working class people and middle income people get pitted against each other," OPIC research director Ed Kelly explains, "but around plant closings it would be possible to build a broad coalition that would not only be powerful but also would unite the right allies against the right enemy."

The "right allies" have been drawn both from the labor movement and from the community at large, thus linking labor with its interest in job protection to a general public concerned about the "urban crisis" in a potentially powerful new political bloc. The enemy has been defined as the big corporations who show no responsibility to workers or their community.

Battle strategies are varied.

In the Glidden case, OPIC helped Kostandaras develop a strategy for negotiating and brought press attention to the workers' plight. In public meetings and talks with local politicians, they tried to demonstrate that the factory could still operate profitably. The workers offered to forego severance pay they were owed and to take a cut in wages to keep the plant open. They didn't succeed, but they did win a fatter severance package thanks to the public pressure.

"If it hadn't been for OPIC and their concern," says Kostandaras, now an OPIC board member and district council president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, "I'm sure the workers who were fired wouldn't have got what they did."

Yet the efforts of OPIC and the local union weren't good enough. Six months after the shutdown, 39 percent of the Glidden workers were unemployed and 34 percent were working, but for lower wages. OPIC decided that political action was necessary.

Their Community Readjustment Act, introduced in the state Senate in 1977, would require that any corporation with over one hundred employees that closes (in whole or part) or relocates must give two years advance notice, severance pay at least equal to one week's pay for each year worked, and community assistance money equal to ten percent of the affected annual payroll.

Maine, in 1971, passed legislation requiring a month's notice and severance pay, and Wisconsin required notice of closings, mergers or relocation in a 1975 law. But it was OPIC's action that inspired activists and legislators in a number of other states to take up the closing battle.

Legislation has now been proposed in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Oregon and, applying to farm-workers only, California.

Few of the bills are stronger than OPIC's, and even the OPIC staff admits that their proposal is very modest. But that hasn't stopped business lobbying groups from fiercely fighting the bill. The Ohio Manufacturers Association calls it "industrial ransom," and everywhere businesses claim that passage of such legislation will stop new jobs from developing in the state.

Some strategists argue that such legislation at the state rather than the federal level will inevitably lead to a familiar blackmail: pass this bill and we'll leave. But Ira Arlook, director of OPIC, argued at its recent Ohio conference on plant closings that the emergence of strong statewide movements could build the popular pressure that would be needed for federal legislation.

In one form or another, bills to deal with plant closings have been around for several years in Congress without going anywhere. One current bill, drafted with the advice of the United Auto Workers, is being introduced by Cong. William Ford (D-MI). A substantial revision of the earlier Ford-Mondale bill, the legislation would require advance notice of closings or major layoffs ranging from 6 months to 2 years for different-sized firms (although none under 50 employees

would be affected). The Sec. of Labor would be instructed to investigate ways to avoid the closing, such as alternative production, targeted aid, loans or grants and technical assistance.

Unlike the previous bill, which put the financial burden on the federal government, the new bill emphasizes the employer's responsibility. Displaced workers would have to be offered the right to transfer to any substantially similar employment of the firm within commuting distance. If no transfer is available, they would be guaranteed 85 percent of their past wage for one year as well as continued health, pension and other benefits. Also, if any tax revenue is lost to the locality, the company would have to pay 85 percent of one year's taxes (plus triple one year's lost federal tax if the plant moves to another country).

A bill introduced in March by Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-PA.) includes many of the Ford provisions but also emphasizes that the firm must provide full explanation of the closing, assessment of alternatives and full financial information on the firm. Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) also plans to introduce a bill with many of the same kind of provisions for notification and assistance. He would encourage employee ownership of firms as an alternative to shutdowns. Another piece of legislation, introduced by Reps. Peter Kostmayer (D-PA) and Stanley Lundine (D-NY), addresses the problem in a different way: it provides loans and

technical assistance to facilitate worker or community ownership of plants threatened with closing.

Conservative members of Congress, and many liberals, are expected to balk at much of the plant closing legislation. "These guys are scared shitless of the companies," one disgusted Congressional staffer said contemptuously. However, employee stock ownership plans—ESOPs—appear less threatening and have broad support, since they do not directly challenge corporate control. Ironically, most of the AFL-CIO unions have been very cool to worker or community ownership, although they have generally supported the provisions for notification and compensation. Among other objections, they fear that worker ownership would displace traditional collective bargaining.

Despite the attention being given to the OPIC-style state proposals and the similar legislation at the federal level, nobody thinks that requirements for notification and for payment to workers and the community are sufficient to deal with the problem of factory closings.

"It's like a pebble you throw in the pond," says economist Tim Nulty, who has worked on the issue both for the UAW and the Federal Trade Commission, "Ultimately you can see in this the microcosm of the whole economy. Some people would say that you can't solve the problem of plant closings without a revolution. The investment decisions, the degree of research and development—whatever—it's all part of the context."

Awareness of the problems associated with plant closings and interest in ways of resisting the trend have grown gradually over several decades, taking off in the late sixties with the great increase in U.S. direct investment overseas in manufacturing, the penetration of many foreign imports into the domestic U.S. market, the expansion of conglomerates, the quickening shift to the Sunbelt and the depletion of the inner city economy as suburbs took over as manufacturing centers.

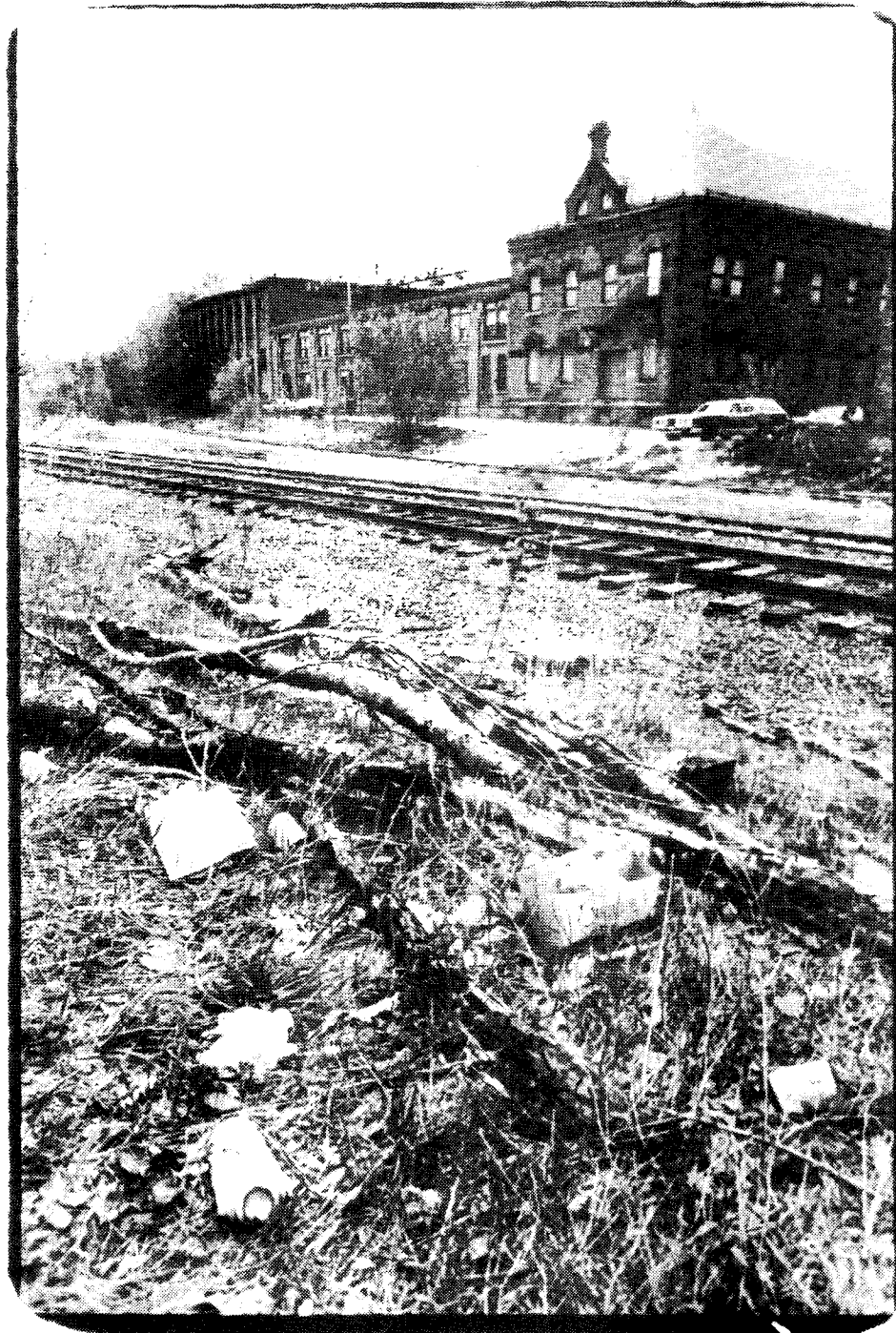
Unions, predictably, had been among the first to react. Over the years some unions had bargained for job protection—including work rules and crew sizes, short workweek or slack work period adjustment, and attrition plans. In 1975, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 20 percent of workers under major contracts (1,000 workers or more) had the right to transfer if there was a plant closing, consolidation, or merger.

Unions also have bargained for assistance in adjusting to shutdowns. Among workers covered by major contracts in 1975, 38 percent were guaranteed severance pay if the workplace closed and 28 percent (50 percent of manufacturing workers) had supplementary unemployment benefits. Few workers, however, had contractual guarantees of even very limited advance notice: only 9 percent in case of plant closure, 17 percent in case of technological change.

Few unionists would argue that these protections are more than mild palliatives that don't challenge the decisions behind closings, but there are obstacles to using collective bargaining in such situations. "When you look at the problem there are two things we have to come to grips with if we want to get a handle on this problem," says Dick Greenwood, special assistant to Machinist president William Winpisinger. "First is management prerogatives, embedded in 44 years of labor law, and the second is proprietary information. We can't go to the bargaining table and do anything because it's beyond the scope of bargaining as defined by law—wages, hours and working conditions." Also, even if bargaining were permitted, usually the issue comes up when workers have little clout left. Lacking access to corporate financial information, they can't judge easily if a worker takeover could succeed.

Continued on page 8.

Organization is replacing capitulation as towns and unions find that tax breaks don't prevent plant closings.



This building used to house a steel company. When the company left, the Clinton Press Cooperative took over the building.

Closings

Continued from page 7.

Nevertheless, unions should try to bargain about the decision itself and not just severance pay, argues labor attorney Staughton Lynd, who has worked on the Youngstown, Ohio community-worker ownership plan. It's a grey area in the law, Lynd concedes, but he believes that "the unions have more room to explore than they have tried." The Rubber Workers won some new guarantees of notification and the right to negotiate the closing in their latest contract.

At times the bargaining has been to the company's advantage—with the union conceding pay increases, work rules and nearly anything else in order to keep a factory, then often losing it. For 25 years, Ed Kelly says, the rubber industry demanded and received concessions from the union to prevent shutdowns in Akron, yet all the while the companies continued to leave, badmouthing the union as they closed the last gates.

In Europe there have been dramatic examples of occupations or sit-ins—such as the Lip watch company in France or the Clyde shipyards in Scotland—and threats of strikes at operating branches of a firm in support of one threatened with closing, but such action has largely been absent in the U.S.

Now there is a nascent effort to develop an early-warning system and counterplans by teaching workers and local union officials how to read signals of a future shutdown or major change in employment—such as failure to maintain or replace old equipment. Other unionists, such as members of the Independent Skilled Trades Council in the Auto Workers, urge that members be trained as well to detect impending automation that could cut out many workers.

A wide range of other union policies have been linked to plant closings. The AFL-CIO, for example, has for many years tried to fight international "run-aways" and shutdowns resulting from foreign competition by backing the principles embodied in the Hartke-Burke bill: quotas on imports, elimination of the foreign tax credit and tax deferral, control on U.S. corporate export of capital and technology. (The UAW dissents on import quotas.) To counter the "run-away shop" within the U.S., unions have argued for repeal of the right-to-work laws and have bargained for corporate "neutrality" in organizing campaigns.

In a number of instances, the federal government—with support and pressure from unions—has devised plans to soften the impact of job losses caused by federal action, starting in 1933 with compensation to railroad workers who lost jobs as a result of corporate consolidation facilitated by the government. The most generous program of this type was adopted in 1978 to cover workers displaced by expansion of the Redwood National Park.

There are special programs for defense department shutdowns, although Sen. George McGovern is now pushing for expanded conversion legislation. Also, since 1974 roughly 300,000 workers have received Trade Readjustment Assistance after the Labor Dept. ruled that increased foreign trade cost them their jobs.

In recent years, unions have been joined by many community political forces who have felt the blow of repeated shutdowns with little new business emerging as replacement. The most common approach, however, has not been an OPIC-style effort to challenge corporate power just a little, but rather a desperate effort to lure or retain business by offering tax abatements and other concessions. The strategy is often extremely costly. Also, most research on industrial location decisions shows that taxes are a relatively low-ranking consideration for most businesses in choosing a new site, although some firms do flee high taxes, rents and—most prominently—high wages. The need for more space, desire for executive amenities, availability of good schools, police and public services and a variety of other factors often weigh most heavily

in deciding where to locate. In any case, the bribery game between states and cities leads to competition that ultimately depresses wages and living conditions.

There are positive steps that communities can take to build up the local economies in the face of corporate shutdowns. One is for workers, often with the community, to take over ownership and operation of the abandoned facility.

Throughout the older industrial states there are numerous successful examples—and some failures—testifying to the value of such an approach. Often the new business avoids the burdens and mismanagement of conglomerate ownership. In most cases productivity increases dramatically, especially if there is a substantial expansion of control by workers over their workplace. Unfortunately, worker ownership does not always bring worker control. In many of the Employee Stock Ownership Plans now developing managers hold the largest bloc of stock and workers often don't have voting rights. Such an ESOP may guarantee them jobs, which they finance themselves, but it does not bring all of the potential benefits, according to research by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center.

Especially in cases of conglomerate shutdowns of unwanted subdivisions, worker-community buy-outs can make a lot of sense. But in many instances, opponents of plant shutdowns agree, the business must simply be allowed to fold. "I'm convinced the significant majority of plants closing are not only unprofitable to the parent firm but likely to be insufficiently profitable for anyone else," argues Michael Kieschnick, a development economist for the Environmental Protection Agency.

Kieschnick and others believe that communities should concentrate not on stop-

ping closings or saving old plants but rather on helping new businesses start, since the significant difference between boom and bust areas of the country is not in the number of business failures but rather in the rate of new businesses opening. Also, such strategists argue that there should be a variety of public institutions to help finance—especially with venture capital and not just loans—small businesses in particular.

Small, independent businesses create a far greater percentage of new jobs than established, corporate giants. That may be because of their innovative vitality, but it also partly reflects the shift in recent years of major corporate capital out of the country. Economists are still very uncertain about how new jobs are created and they don't really know what kind of new jobs the small firms generate. Perhaps, Kieschnick cautions, they are disproportionately low-wage operations lacking unions and desirable working conditions.

States and local areas could set up more Small Business Investment Corporations in association with churches, unions or community groups to use public and private funds to start new, small businesses. Other money could be available through programs of the Economic Development Administration, the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development and the new Federal Cooperative Bank. Despite strict investment restrictions, pension funds, especially from public agencies, could be another source of development money.

There are, for the creative, many ways, even with existing legislation, to use public money to leverage private investment. There are also a variety of possibilities for public banks, investment corporations, and even public enterprises. Rather than beg or bribe businesses, communities can take more direct control

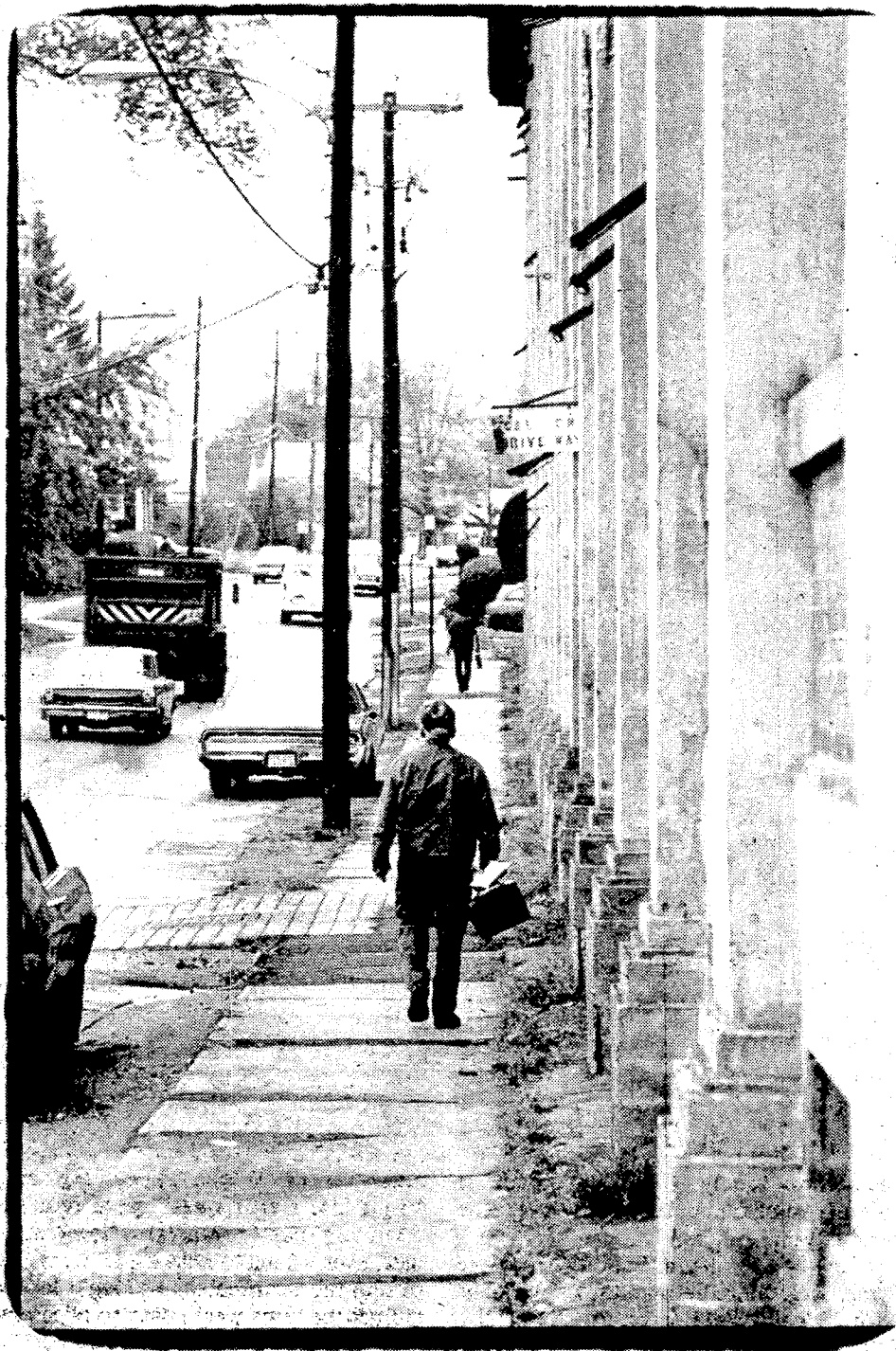
over their economic well-being. If combined with federal programs that favor needed new production—such as energy conservation or solar devices, mass transit or localized food production—community development could become a building block in reconstructing the nation's economy.

Although the growing opposition to abrupt, arbitrary plant shutdowns has united many of the "right allies" on the need to do something, it has not yet united them on precisely what to do. Nor have the efforts yet posed a serious threat to corporate power or capitalist patterns of investment.

The potential of the movement is great, however. Shutdowns by themselves still affect only a small percentage of firms, even in the hardest hit areas. Yet refusing to accept such abandonment as natural and by refusing to trust businesses to bring back what they have taken away, the workers, union leaders, community groups and politicians who have banded together begin to face a vast array of central issues: Who decides where to invest and what to produce? How is capital allocated? What research and development is needed? What rights over property do workers and communities have and what responsibilities does capital have? How can the public control capital? How should the workplace be organized?

The issues can be posed at every juncture in the economic process, but the threat of plant closings provides a sense of urgency and of public interest. At every point in the debate, the alternatives can be divided into two broad camps: one defers to the corporations and private sector the power over the livelihood of people and their communities, the other asserts the right of workers and the public to greater democratic control. ■

One government economist thinks many plant closings are not worth stopping. He says communities need new business, not dying ones.



Laid off from Miller's Tools in Clinton, Mass.

Further Reading

Here are a few readings—and viewings—that provide further information about the problems of plant closings and various strategies for union or community action:

- **Plant Closings and Tax Abatements.** Two short collections of readings put together by OPIC and the Conference on State and Local Policies, 1901 Q St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

- **Industrial Exodus.** A brief diagnosis with prescriptions by OPIC researcher Ed Kelly, available from the Conference.

- **Economic Dislocation.** A report on legislation in West Germany, Great Britain and Sweden from a three-union tour, available free from the United Auto Workers (8000 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48214), the Machinists (1300 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036) or the Steelworkers (5 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, PA 15222).

- **The Public Balance Sheet.** Analysis of community costs and benefits by David Smith with Patrick McGuigan, available soon from the National Center for Economic Alternatives, 2000 P. St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

- **The Right to Useful Work: Planning by the People.** Edited by Ken Coates for Spokesman Books (Gamble Street, Nottingham, England) The essays argue for worker alternative plans to shutdowns.

- **Democracy at Work.** A report on worker ownership and self-management by Daniel Zwerdling, \$5.50 from Association for Self-Management, 1414 Spring Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010.

- **Global Reach.** The power of multinationals as interpreted by Richard J. Barnett and Ronald E. Muller, Touchstone pb.

Several films on plant closings are available from California Newsreel, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, often on a "what-you-can-afford" basis for community and labor groups: *We've Always Done It This Way* (the Lucas Aerospace campaign in England, with an introduction by Machinist president William Winpisinger), *The Fight Against Black Monday* (the Youngstown steel shutdown), *Controlling Interest* (the role of multinationals) and *Temiscaming* (report on a reopened Canadian pulp mill owned by workers and the community).

—David Moberg

IN THE WORLD

NICARAGUA



'KEEP YOUR HEAD DOWN -- THESE SWAMPS ARE FULL OF COMMUNISTS!'

Sandinistas "Cuban" arms from gangster black market

Somoza's resignation near

As we go to press this week, the world awaits the imminent downfall of President Anastasio Somoza. On July 9, under pressure from the U.S. and Central American nations, he announced his resignation, only to withdraw it the next day. He has said that he will resign when he receives guarantees that his Liberal Party will have a place in the new government and that his National Guard will not be disbanded. But no such guarantees will be forthcoming, the provisional government insists.

The question is whether Somoza will resign, emerge from his cement bunker in the heart of the capital a free man and flee to some port of asylum or whether he will wait until the Sandinistas overcome the National Guard in Managua, all that is left for them to take. It is questionable at this time whether he would

survive the taking of Managua if he remains. Memories of Hitler hiding in his bunker as the Allies took Berlin are revived. The Nazis, too, accumulated vast holdings with millions stashed away in foreign banks. Unlike Hitler, Somoza will doubt flee before he is personally taken by the Sandinistas.

Somoza's demand for a government role for his Liberal Party is not surprising; this would help protect the holdings in Nicaragua of his family and friends.

Meanwhile, the National Guard remained camped on the outskirts of Masaya, 20 miles south of Managua, where they have been for a week, awaiting word to begin the assault to retake the city. And the Sandinistas have acquired a small air force and a radio station, Guerilla Radio Insurrection.

—Florence Levinsohn

By David Helvarg

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

EVERY DAY THE NATIONAL RADIO OF Nicaragua makes accusations about "bandito Communists" getting arms and training from Cuba and other foreign powers. Two weeks ago, U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown claimed 200 Cubans were training and arming Sandinistas in Costa Rica. His claim is disputed by almost every reporter on the scene here in Nicaragua and in Costa Rica.

According to most reporters (and confirmed to me by a Sandinista gun runner I interviewed earlier in the spring) the main source for heavier Sandinista arms, Belgian-made FAL rifles, Soviet RPG rockets and 30 caliber machine guns has been the black market run by organized crime in the U.S. and Panama.

With the recent establishment of a Provisional Revolutionary Government in Nicaragua and its recognition by Panama and Grenada, new sources of arms may come into the possession of the FSLN. But the number and scope of the new ar-

mament is yet to be determined. The main source of new arms over the last month has been through the capture of large stocks of National Guard weaponry. Increasingly, the "muchachos" (as the young kids are popularly referred to) are seen carrying M-16s, galils and M-1 Gerands captured from the Guards. They also have captured 30 and 50 caliber machine guns, troop transports, armored cars and, in Leon, a Sherman tank.

The question that has not been asked very widely is who arms and supports the government of General Anastasio Somoza.

The Nicaraguan National Guard was created in 1930 by the U.S. Marines who occupied Nicaragua in the 1920s and 30s. In 1936, Somoza, senior, seized power in a coup d'etat and gained immediate recognition ("He may be a son of a bitch but he's our son of a bitch," said President Roosevelt at the time.) The U.S. provided the Somoza family its arms under various military assistance programs over the next 42 years.

Many of the current Somoza's heavier arms, including Sherman tanks mounted with 105 millimeter cannons, Sirkorsky helicopters, and T33 jet trainers converted to jet fighters were provided by the U.S.

His tanquetas (armored "Staghound cars" mounted with 37 millimeter cannon and 30-caliber machine guns) are British manufactured, sold to Somoza on U.S. recommendation in the 1950s. More recently, he has bought German manufactured Mercedes troop transport trucks with U.S. approval.

A graduate of West Point, Somoza was heavily reliant on U.S. arms and training to keep his army in power. Over the years his officers trained in the U.S. and at the U.S. jungle warfare school in Panama, did counter-insurgency sweeps in north-east Nicaragua with U.S. Ranger advisers in the early 70s and called for and received aid from military governments in Honduras and El Salvador, fellow members of the Central American Defense Organization (CONDECA) established by the U.S. in the 1960s.

In the late 70s Somoza began to suspect a possible sellout. Like Diem before him he was seen as a growing liability likely to push his people into open support for the radical Sandinistas unless a "viable anti-Communist alternative" could be found. In the fall of 1977 wealthy conservative businessman Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, owner of Nicaragua's *La Prensa* newspaper visited the U.S. where he held secret talks with State Department and Carter administration officials about the possibility of a successor to the Somoza dynasty. Shortly thereafter he returned to Nicaragua and, in January of 1978, was assassinated, an event that sparked the present crisis.

Somoza, able to read the handwriting on the wall, saw a cutoff in U.S. military aid coming (the Carter administration cut military aid in the spring of 1978).

In the winter of 1977, Somoza dispatched a representative aboard his private Lear jet to Tel Aviv. Israel owed the Somoza family an old debt and now they were ready to collect.

In 1948 the U.S. was secretly arming the newly established state of Israel. To make the arms sales appear legitimate "End Use Certificates" were required. "The old man," Anastasio Somoza, senior, ever willing to help the U.S., offered to sign the certificates, making it look as though the arms were going to Nicaragua rather than to Israel. Over the next 25 years Nicaragua was also consistently with

the U.S. (in favor of Israel) in all UN resolutions concerning the Middle East.

After the 1967 war the Israeli defense industry (IDI) became one of the worlds most "respected" high quality arms manufacturers. The state-run industry needed new markets to help offset the costs of Israel's own massive defense expenditures. By 1977 Israel was already selling heavily to Central America, with jet fighters and other arms going to the military governments in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. The Somoza request for arms backed by a private fortune estimated at \$400 to 500 million "outside of Nicaragua" was seen as a boon to the Israeli war manufacturers.

Soon shiploads of Uzi submachine guns, galil assault rifles, helmets, communications and field gear, Ariva aircraft and Dodge-Chrysler command cars (made in Nazareth) began arriving at Puerto Caezas on Nicaragua's isolated Atlantic coast.

Despite increasing diplomatic and political isolation, Somoza has also been able to restock on ammunition, including heavy shells and mortar rounds from munitions factories in South Korea and Argentina, a fact attested to by the markings on ammunition cases at Guardia front line positions.

In the past two weeks Somoza has relied heavily on his air force in his fight against the popularly backed guerrillas of the FSLN. The most widely used plane in his airforce is the "push pull" rocket firing prop-plane, named for its configuration, with one engine in front of the cabin and a second in the rear.

This plane, when stripped of its rocket pods and machine guns, is known as the "Skymaster." Somoza is said to have control of the Sesna distributorship in Nicaragua. (Sesna is one of the largest manufacturers of small planes in the U.S.).

Last week Somoza was dropping 250 500-pound bombs out of helicopters on to various barrios in Managua, making him the first head of state ever to bomb his own capital. In escalating his military attack upon his own people, however, he increasingly isolates himself from any hope of future support. Already national guard morale is breaking with increased incidents of desertion and of growing refusal to take on the Sandinistas in direct combat. Without a social base or popular support all the weapons in the world cannot save a Shah, an Idi Amin or a Somoza.

Somoza's Texas connection

Counterspy magazine reports that, with the approval of the U.S. Dept. of Justice, a Texas-based corporation headed by Fred Warner Wagers, Jr. is presently assisting Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in "maintaining internal security" by carrying out "any and all activities directed by [Somoza] to further internal security."

Wagers, a U.S. citizen who calls himself an "importer and exporter" entered into a contract with Somoza after the first massive uprising of the Nicaraguan people in September, 1978. Since then, Wagers has bought arms for Somoza and—in his own words—aided in Somoza's "personal protection" and assisted him "in eliminating radical elements" and "sub-service internal activities" in Nicaragua, as reported in Wagers' registration statements filed as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Other tasks Wagers and his men are performing for Somoza, according to their contract, include advising him in "internal security matters" in his war against the Nicaraguan people and "recruiting and hiring" people in the U.S. as "security personnel" for Somoza. ■

WEST GERMANY

Germans' Nixon will face Schmidt in 1980 elections

By Diana Johnstone

NOW THAT THE CHRISTIAN Democratic opposition has picked Franz Josef Strauss as its standard-bearer against Social Democratic (SPD) Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, next year's West German elections are shaping up as a no-holds-barred slugging match between the country's two political tough guys.

On the face of it, Schmidt, the handsome Hamburger (from Hamburg), who has displayed his *macho* virtues by standing up to terrorism and Carter, is polls ahead of the hefty Bavarian. Strauss is widely hated and feared as an arrogant reactionary whose friendship with foreign dictators like Chile's Augusto Pinochet gives an idea of his feelings about law and order. Economics Minister Otto Lamsdorff, of the small and still-shrinking Free Democratic (Liberal) Party that makes up the Bonn coalition government with the SPD, said the idea of Strauss as Chancellor "should terrify all those committed to the defense of liberties."

It does, and some of them warn that Schmidt is going to have a hard time beating Strauss, despite his initial popularity lead.

A contest that boils down to choosing between the two fastest guns in West Germany is already defined in right-wing terms that tend to favor the right-winger. Schmidt's personality cult has grown up rightward of his own party, around the essentially apolitical notion that what this country needs is a strong man at the helm. Strauss can play effectively on that same

German socialists say Franz Josef Strauss will make Britain's Margaret Thatcher look like a bleeding heart liberal

notion—and may the meanest man win.

Except for being much smarter, Strauss might be called a German Nixon. Starting life as a modest butcher's son, he has climbed high by serving big business interests without letting moral scruples or undue concern with legality stand in his way. He has brazened his way through several big scandals. As Konrad Adenauer's defense minister from 1956 to 1962, he supplied his country's armed forces with 10,000 armored troop carriers that turned out not to work, as well as the notorious Lockheed "flying coffin" Starfighter that at last count had plunged some 120 German pilots to an early death. Rumors of bribes were never investigated. Such discernment in weaponry has earned Strauss an honored place in the councils of the arms industry.

Like Nixon, Strauss has tried to get rough with the liberal press and lost. In 1962, he was forced to resign as defense minister after he lied to Parliament about his role in getting police to raid the offices

of the weekly newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*. But he bounced back as finance minister from 1966 to 1969.

Most of the West German press is not liberal at all, and will support Strauss.

Strauss is a clever and gifted orator, who can give his ultra-conservative ideology the savor of folk wisdom. He is for "the natural order of things," that is, for social inequality, which is natural, whereas "equality is contrary to freedom." In practice, this means he would raise sales taxes, cut back taxes on high incomes and slash social programs enacted by the SPD.

German socialists say Strauss could make Maggie Thatcher look like a bleeding heart.

Strauss has built a solid power base in his native Bavaria, where he reigns as Minister-President and political "godfather." First he escaped from the discipline of the national Christian Democratic party (CDU) by creating his own regional Christian Social Union (CSU). Then he brought pressure on the CDU to

pick him as joint CDU-CSU candidate or else he would run CSU slates in the other nine West German states, taking right-wing votes away from the CDU. When, on July 2, the deadlocked party leaders threw the final choice between Strauss and CDU moderate Ernst Albrecht to the CDU-CSU Bundestag (parliamentary) caucus, CDU members who felt their seats most threatened by eventual CSU competition had an extra motivation to vote for Strauss.

Other motivations were the sense of a rightward wind blowing in Europe, and the failure of moderate CDU leaders to seem anything but dull and colorless in comparison to Schmidt. Strauss won't have this problem.

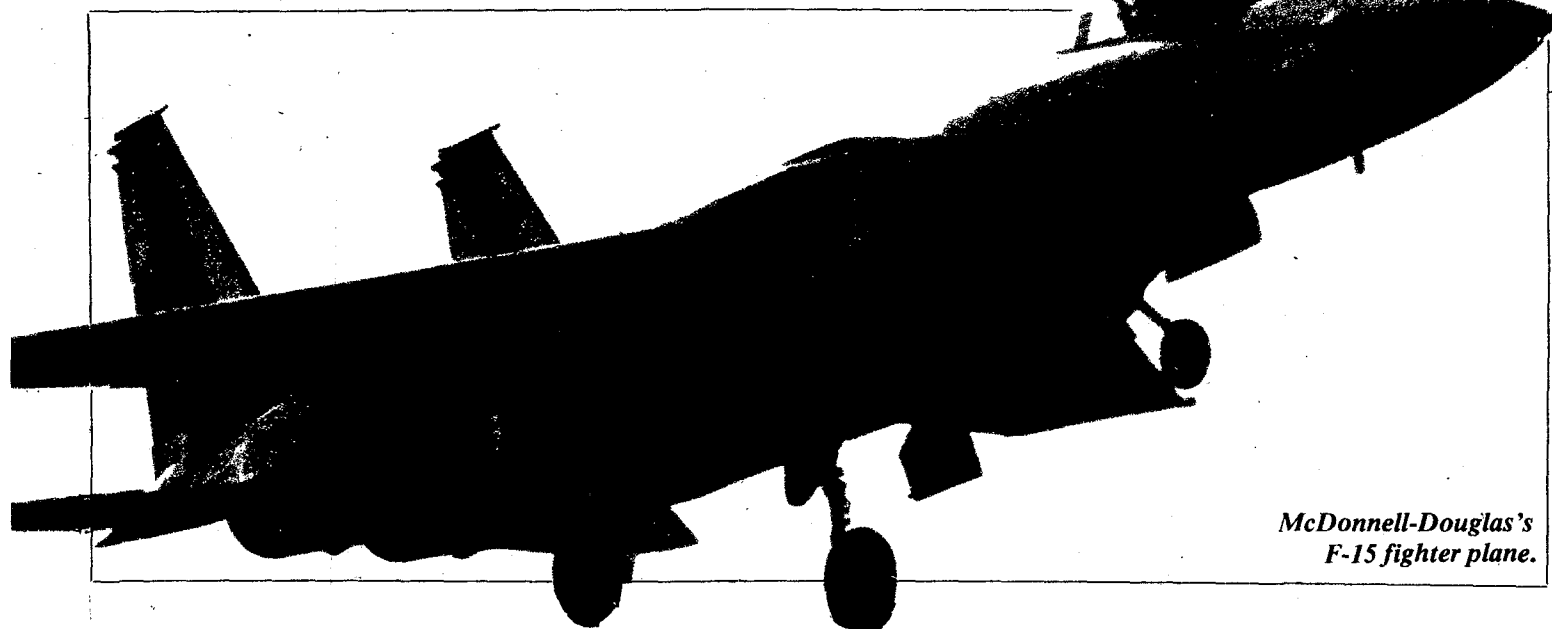
Strauss has conducted his own "Bavarian foreign policy." Like Nixon, he hit it off so well with Mao he was invited back to China. On visits to Chile and Argentina, he has expressed warm sympathy for the military dictatorships there in their fight against "terrorism." He had a friendly political and business relationship with the Greek colonels during their dictatorship. He is a source of support for rightists in Spain and Italy.

SPD trade unionists are particularly alarmed over Strauss's project (still in the research and planning stages) to smash the labor movement by setting up obligatory government trade unions in Bavaria.

Schmidt, who has already moved so far to the right that he has lost some of his most left-wing voters, may be pulled still farther in that direction by a campaign against Strauss, some SPD people fear. In this case, part of the German left could feel unable to vote for either one, and abstain or give their votes to the "green" ecological candidates. This could give Strauss the victory.

"I hope the West German political situation will never be so grave that I'll have to be called upon to be Chancellor," Strauss has said jokingly in the past. Now he and the right-wing press are no doubt going to try to persuade Germans that their situation is just that grave—that prosperity, security and freedom are in danger. The SPD will retort that the danger is precisely Strauss. West Germany seems to be in for an apocalyptic year. ■

MIDEAST



McDonnell-Douglas's F-15 fighter plane.

Lebanese fear escalated air war

By David Mandel

ISRAEL

ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH RECENT Middle East history was quick to draw parallels with past Syrian-Israeli air battles after the sudden dogfight over Lebanon on June 27. An unexpected engagement saw 13 Syrian MIGs shot down shortly before the October, 1973, war and six others were hit by Israeli pilots in April, 1967, two months before the Middle East war of that year.

Adding to the sense of crisis were statements by leading Lebanese politicians last week that "war is imminent" and "Lebanon's fate hangs in the balance."

But in Israel, the dogfight had little

public impact beyond self-congratulatory nationalistic puffery and sly grins at U.S. embarrassment that its F-15s had been involved in what could hardly be called defensive warfare.

Full-scale war, in the style of 1967 or 1973, still looks very remote from here. Israel, although it would like nothing better than to "teach Syria a lesson," will not risk its developing peace with Egypt. Syria will not start a war as long as it is certain that Egypt would stay out. Syrian President Assad and his other Arab allies will at least wait until the breakdown they expect in the Egypt-Israel-U.S. talks over the Palestinians' future, before applying any serious military pressure.

But the Lebanese politicians are not all wrong. Israel has appropriated free use of the country's skies to pursue its

air war against suspected Palestinian guerrilla concentrations, more often than not among civilians in towns and refugee camps. Jerusalem's political and military leaders have repeated incessantly in the last few months that they will no longer undertake "retaliation" for PLO attacks. They have instead sworn to hit "the enemy" wherever and whenever possible. In other words, war against the PLO.

Syria, in response, has upped its presence in Lebanon. While it was previously concerned mostly with maintaining a balance favorable to its own interests between the parties of Lebanon's civil war, it is now reported to be moving in anti-aircraft missiles and planes. Lebanese of many persuasions are having nightmares about their country—already in shambles from within—being used as a surrogate

battlefield by its neighbors.

Israeli apologists were quick to explain the battle by pointing to Syria's own internal problems—Muslim extremists apparently massacred several dozen army cadets in mid-June, and many of the victims belonged to the minority Alawite sect of President Hafez Assad. While there may be some truth to the explanation, Israel was probably more quick than usual to engage the Syrian planes hoping to encourage Assad's enemies at home. The MIGs have been fearing Israeli bombers for some time now, beginning before the Syrians' recent domestic difficulties.

In sum, however, Israel's latest solution for the PLO—carpet bombing a la Vietnam—may boomerang just as the spring 1978 ground invasion of south Lebanon did. Then, Israel failed to significantly reduce the Palestinians' fighting capacity, and instead focused international attention on its own meddling in Lebanon.

The latest dogfight with Syrian MIGs will provide Damascus with arguments for obtaining more sophisticated jets and anti-aircraft weapons from Moscow, will further entrench Syria's presence in Lebanon, making a peaceful solution of that country's civil strife more remote, and just may embarrass Israel's sole supplier and backer—the Carter administration—into putting its foot down against Jerusalem's aggressive policy.

But according to the Israeli news media, not everyone in the Washington establishment was upset by the dogfight. Israeli military reporters hinted that the Pentagon was thrilled with the F-15's performance—its first ever in authentic battle. And the plane's manufacturer, McDonnell-Douglas, whose reputation has taken some hard knocks lately, couldn't have been too unhappy. ■

BOAT PEOPLE

Vietnamese deny they persecuted ethnic Chinese

By Wilfred Burchett

THE NATIONALIZATION OF ALL wholesale and a major part of retail trade in South Vietnam, which took place in March 1978 and drove 2,400 ethnic Chinese and 600 Vietnamese big merchants out of the trading business, sparked off official protests from Peking two months later.

The Vietnamese government was accused, in a note by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 12, 1978, of having adopted measures of "ostracism, persecution and expulsion" of Chinese residents. An acrimonious exchange of notes culminated in the announcement from Peking that it was sending two Chinese ships to start a "boatlift" operation to rescue the "persecuted." The Vietnamese did not oppose the evacuation but insisted that international norms for the entry of foreign shipping into their territorial waters must be respected.

Negotiations were started to settle this question. The Vietnamese strongly denied that they had "ostracized, persecuted or expelled" members of the Hoa (ethnic Chinese) community, but agreed to facilitate the evacuation of any who wished to leave.

They also offered to help the Chinese expatriate some 30,000 ethnic Chinese who had fled into Vietnam to escape the tribulations of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. The Chinese negotiators dismissed this as a "provocation."

Agreement was reached on the dates on which the evacuation ships could drop anchor in Haiphong in the North and Vungtao (formerly Cap St. Jacques) in the South. This would be a start of a steady process until all who wanted to leave had been evacuated. The operation was aborted because the Chinese insisted that the documents say that its purpose was "to take on board Chinese residents, victims of persecution by the Vietnamese authorities." The Vietnamese formula was: "Hoa residents who desire to leave Vietnam for China."

The two ships returned to China without a single evacuee aboard.

Peking suffered a humiliating defeat over the much publicized evacuation operation, which indicated—at least to many ethnic Chinese in Vietnam—that its aim was propaganda and not concern over the fate of the Hoa people.

But tens of thousands of the latter, at the urging of Peking agitators, reinforced by the dispatch of the "rescue ships" had sold up their businesses, homes and belongings and were literally "on the streets."

They provided a golden opportunity for the racketeers whose former incomes from prostitution, drug-peddling and black-market trading in American PX supplies had dwindled to zero. A new racket of smuggling out of the country the Hoa and Vietnamese abandoned by the Americans (or unable to adjust to the new regime) offered limitless and lucrative possibilities. Thus were launched the "boat people."

Last December, Ngo Dien, Hanoi's deputy-minister of Foreign Affairs in charge of information, offered two official Vietnamese attitudes toward Hoa leaving the North and from the South. "The abrupt departure of Hoa workers from mines and other industrial enterprises in the North caused us economic difficulties. Far from expelling them, or any other Hoa, we did our best to persuade them not to leave," he told me.

"In the South it was quite different. They dominated trade at all levels and many saw no future if they could not con-

tinue as bankers and merchants. If people want to leave and have families to look after them at the other end, we have no objections. But they should get exit visas in the normal way."

Plenty of reasons to leave.

"There are plenty of reasons for people to leave," continued Ngo Dien, "but oppression is not one of them. Nor vengeance for past activities. We have tried a few criminals, but their offenses had nothing to do with their wartime activities."

The impression from the discussion with Ngo Dien was that, with the severe unemployment in the South, the border conflict with Kampuchea and increasing tensions with China in the North, the Hanoi authorities were not displeased with the departure of malcontents, non-producers and potential hostile elements from the South.

In any case how could they stop it? There were no international offers to fly or ship the malcontents out—as had been the case with the airlift of Cuban emigres to the U.S. But the exodus from the North of skilled workers and administrative personnel hurt and perplexed them.

"We were taken aback at Peking's charges of 'persecution' and were slow in evaluating the real aim," said Ngo Dien. "We could not believe that China would expect us to exempt the Hoa people from our nationalization measure—much milder than those adopted by the Chinese against their own capitalists. As we were taken by surprise we had no immediate measures ready to lessen the damage."

"Accusing us of 'persecution, discrimination' was a short cut to turning the friendly feelings of the Chinese people against us. 'Ingratitude' after all the aid China had given us in our resistance wars, was the theme played upon! It worked. Chinese public opinion did turn against us and provided an acceptable pretext for Peking to halt all aid projects and increase tensions along the frontier."

At that time, the official view in Hanoi was that the Chinese military build-up along the frontier was not the prelude to an invasion but to bolster the morale of the Pol Pot forces, then to carry out intensive harassing operations along the southern-central section of the Kampuchea-Vietnam frontier.

I was to find that local authorities in the Langson area took a much more serious view of a possible Chinese invasion than those in Hanoi. After it took place, Hanoi leaders admitted they were taken by surprise, by the attack itself, by the timing and by its scope.

Propaganda teams—mainly composed of Hoa cadres—were sent to the frontier areas to try to persuade their fellow Hoa that talk of war was a propaganda stunt by the Chinese. They should stay on the job at farms and factories and turn a "deaf ear" to the rumors spread by "bad elements" and Peking "agents" who visited them at night. (Just as Vietnamese authorities in the South turned a "blind eye" to those who were leaving to join the "boat people.")

A dramatic switch occurred.

When I visited the Langson Pass area at the end of December 1978, including the towns of Langson and Dong Dang—the latter only two miles from the frontier—great pains were taken to convince me that the overwhelming majority of Hoa people there, as elsewhere, were loyal citizens, excellent administrative cadres, solid Communist party members, among the best of the activists in countering Chinese blandishments for an exodus to the North.



Vietnamese refugees are taken from the listing ship Skyluck, which on June 29 ran aground on an outlying island of Hong Kong.

Hanoi welcomed the departure of malcontents in the South. But the exodus of skilled workers from the North has them worried. The Viets blame their flight on China.

A visit to the same area a little over three months later gave a very different picture. According to local officials, many of the Hoa frontier people who had fled returned as scouts and commando units, guiding Chinese troops by trails known only to the local people to attack the Vietnamese from the flanks and rear, using their perfect knowledge of Vietnamese to infiltrate through the defense lines.

Other Hoa elements who had stayed, acted as a fifth column, assassinating cadres as the invaders approached their towns and villages, guiding commando units to hidden stores of rice and other supplies which were trucked off to the Chinese side of the frontier or destroyed.

To what extent the often horrendous tales of Hoa "treachery" were true, or exaggerated, the result was that for the first time in 25 years of regular visits to Vietnam, I found a generalized attitude of hostility towards the ethnic Chinese. This was paralleled by administrative measures being taken against them. These were intensified after senior deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping told UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim in Peking at the end of April that it would probably be necessary to "teach the Vietnamese a second lesson."

The threat this time was taken very seriously. It was taken for granted that the "second lesson" would take place not only in the same area as the first—that is, along the 750 miles of land frontier between China and Vietnam—but in the northern coastal regions as well. That would include the valuable coal-mining region of Hongay-Campha and the industrial and port city of Haiphong.

According to Vietnamese officials, word quickly spread within the Hoa community that the Chinese had made good their original warnings that ethnic Chinese

who ignored their warning to "get out while the going was good" would be treated as traitors once Chinese troops entered Vietnam. According to eyewitness accounts thousands were butchered in the frontier towns and villages, unless they had proof that they had been ordered to remain for specific "fifth column" tasks. Fear of a similar fate spurred tens of thousands of Hoa people from the northern coastal areas to join in the "boat people" exodus.

The other more serious repercussion was that the Vietnamese authorities decided they could not risk a repetition of the Hoa role in the northern frontier areas. Tens of thousands of ethnic Chinese, at all levels of activity, were dismissed from their jobs following the Chinese invasion and given roughly three choices: 1) go to the rear areas—essentially the Central Highlands where "new economic zones" were being opened up; 2) follow the road route to China or 3) pay boat passages to Hongkong or other countries in Southeast Asia willing to receive them.

At the time I left Hanoi in late May, negotiations were proceeding with the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, for an orderly evacuation of the Hoa people who decided to leave. That these negotiations have been only partially successful is obvious from a Vietnamese Foreign Ministry statement on June 15 that blamed China, the U.S. and Britain for "having obviously aimed at isolating Vietnam from other Southeast Asian countries and preventing cooperation between Vietnam and these countries and the UN High Commission for Refugees." Agreement had, however, been reached for the approval of exit visas and orderly departure for 20,000 refugees under terms approved by the UN High Commission's Office.



The New Right's Richard Viguerie discovers that the pen is mightier than the sword.

BY SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

FORTY-SIX-YEAR-OLD RICHARD Viguerie has become a very powerful man in a short time. He's the publisher of a flotilla of publications ranging from the mass-circulation *Conservative Digest* to the insider's newsletter *New Right Report*. Several political action committees are run by his associates, providing modern consulting methods to specially selected candidates. Several US senators owe their seats to him in some way. Senator Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina) was dubbed the \$6 million man last year when he ran for reelection, a reference to the amount Viguerie raised for him as a result of direct-mail solicitations. (Viguerie, incidentally, keeps a hefty chunk of the loot, in some cases over 75 percent of what he raises.)

Now, Viguerie is gearing up for the presidential election year, another milestone in the progress of the New Right. It's not a do-or-die battle for him in 1980, just a chance for incremental gains. Viguerie has his own candidate, Congressman Philip Crane (R-Illinois), whose race for the presidency would undoubtedly collapse if Viguerie ever decided to ditch him in favor of another contender. These efforts are part of a cohesive movement, with Viguerie and his computers at its center.

"It's a sign of our strength that there is no candidate in the Republican party who is going to run a left-of-center campaign for president," says Viguerie. "This will be the first time in our lifetimes that no serious candidate for president will appeal to that liberal perspective. Slowly but surely we're moving the political balance much more to the center. Not to the right. But things are definitely moving our way."

One of his confederates, Massachusetts conservative Howard Phillips, believes that at the base of the New Right's sudden influence are Viguerie's mailing lists. Phillips's Conservative Caucus "discovered" Senator Gordon Humphrey in New Hampshire, courtesy of Viguerie's computerized lists. "They're indispensable," he says. "Without assembling that body of names we couldn't have achieved anything. As Jessie Unruh said, money is the mother's milk of politics. Without the magic of direct mail, there would have been no fight over the Panama Canal Treaty. We helped defeat instant voter registration. If the New Right wasn't involved the two parties would take the same position and there would be no debate."

Viguerie is relaxed in his corner office, surrounded by paintings of famous golf

courses. His head is a gleaming sculpted dome with a few strands of hair brushed across it. He bubbles with optimism.

"There isn't a Communist leader in the world worth his salt who doesn't feel that Communism isn't the wave of the future," he says. "There's not a leader I know of in the Free World who believes freedom is the wave of the future. That's what we have going now: the conservatives believe that they will govern America. They are totally convinced that they have the ability to govern and that they will govern in the foreseeable future. There's an electricity, an excitement that wasn't here six years ago."

Viguerie is fundamentalist in his political beliefs. What sets him off from mossbacks of previous generation is his sophistication. He has been willing to learn from sources other than fellow rightists. He is an apt pupil of George McGovern, the New Left, and the AFL-CIO.

"We've taken close to 100 percent of the left's tactics," he confesses unashamedly. "What we're doing is what they did. We have been thirty years late in realizing how the left did it. We're into making a list of all the things they do and doing the same things."

On Viguerie's desk when I paid him a visit was a thick book containing copies of the direct-mail solicitations from the 1972 McGovern for President campaign, which Viguerie holds in high professional esteem. "I'm studying it," he says. "I'm trying to build a movement. I don't know if you've heard that word much. Among us conservatives that's a word that's used constantly. The movement." Hearing him speak in the shorthand of the left is eerie. But the right, after all, has momentum.

Political wildcatter.

"Years and years ago, I decided that I wanted to do something in a major way to help the conservative movement," he says. "There were different routes I could have gone." He ticks off the names of influential conservative writers. "Bill Buckley, Bill Rusher, Russel Kirk. I could have gone that route. I probably wouldn't have amounted to a hill of beans."

"What we didn't have was someone to take the ideas, the writings, the books, and market them to the masses. A new cause came along, a new candidate, we didn't really have someone who really understood how to market them on a major national scale. So I set out to become the best marketer I could be."

Richard Viguerie is a sunny new wave

reactionary. He was born in Golden Acres, Texas, a town outside Houston. His father was a middle-level petrochemical executive, his mother a practical nurse. "My parents were the silent majority out there," he recalls. "Their instincts were conservative. But there wasn't a situation where I can remember discussing politics in the evening at dinner. It's something I picked up on my own. My philosophy wasn't counter to my parents, but they weren't very political."

When he was very young, perhaps seven, he became enthralled with American Indians. He was very shy and small for his age, even as a teenager. Although he had never seen an Indian he was obsessed with their plight. Movies, which mainly portrayed Indians as ignoble savages, perked his interest. He immersed himself in books on the subject. At some point he linked victims of Communism with Indians. The Communists were the white men. The American way of life—entrepreneurial capitalism—was imperiled. It could be wiped out like the Indians. America was the underdog. Communists were closing in.

At the University of Houston, where he majored in political science, Viguerie had two heroes—"the two Macs" he calls them—General Douglas MacArthur and U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy. When the Army-McCarthy hearings were broadcast Viguerie was riveted to the radio. These hearings, more than anything else, led to McCarthy's demise, for during them McCarthy's penchant for character assassination and coarse tactics was revealed unadorned on nationwide television. As McCarthy went down, Viguerie rooted for him. "Here was a man fighting Communism," he says. "So I became a fighter."

His start in politics was typically undistinguished—in a campaign office, running the Houston headquarters of Senator John Tower. The following year he moved up the ladder to become the first executive secretary of the Young Americans for Freedom, a rightist youth group funded by William F. Buckley, Jr. to serve as a finishing school for conservative leaders of the future. Viguerie was supposed to raise money for the organization. He did not like asking rich people for contributions directly. He decided to write them letters, and his first direct mailings worked. Soon he made the plunge into business. With a \$300 investment he rented a one-room office on Capitol Hill in 1965. Today he grosses over \$15 million a year, a conservative estimate.

He was like an oil wildcatter, an independent driller in politics. He sank his lines and hoped for a gusher. It was just a trickle to begin with. Direct mail, while part of an overall political consulting media package, wasn't regarded as lucrative enough to base a firm on by most operatives.

Then came three big breaks. The first of these was the 1972 McGovern campaign for the presidency, conclusively demonstrating the power of direct mail. "George McGovern," explains Viguerie, "ran over the Henry Jacksons and the Hubert Humphreys of the world because he understood the new technology. He was a creature of direct mail."

McGovern didn't have the backing of the regular Democrats, the AFL-CIO, the urban machines. In early polls his standing with Democrats wavered between 2 and 3 percent. He had no wealthy angels. He desperately needed a means to

nourish his campaign in its lean phase.

McGovern contacted Morris Dees, the most successful political direct-mail operator in the country, a liberal Southerner who built the biggest direct-mail company outside New York and Chicago, sold it, and devoted his time to public-interest law and civil rights. Dees wrote a letter asking recipients to contribute \$10 a month to a McGovern for President Club. A coupon book for making payments was enclosed; those who signed up were sent an "insider's" newsletter and monthly reminders to pay their "dues." By early 1972 monthly income from the scheme totaled about \$100,000.

Viguerie took notice. He began writing fundraising appeals with participatory gimmicks, asking recipients to send in an enclosed poll or an odd exact figure for a specific purpose.

His next leap forward was provided by Arthur Bremer. When Bremer incapacitated George Wallace in 1972, confining him to a wheelchair, Wallace's 1976 campaign was cast into doubt. The collection of money was farmed out to Richard Viguerie. In eighteen months he raised \$2 million and spent as much in the effort. Eventually he garnered \$6.9 million for Wallace. Viguerie was Wallace's life-support system, sustaining him for one final campaign.

Wallace's campaign was the real making of Viguerie and the New Right. It provided a list of 600,000 names, sifted from a larger list of contributors, that was as good as gold. Wallace's campaign gave Viguerie free-and-clear proprietary rights to the hard core of the New Right.

The third and perhaps most important boon for Viguerie was Watergate. Besides the removal of Richard Nixon, the most tangible result of Watergate was a campaign reform act that limited contributions to \$1000. Supposedly, this would inhibit arm twisting by presidential candidates, democratize the political process by making parties less dependent on major contributors and involve more citizens. It didn't exactly work out that way. The principal beneficiary of this reform, enacted mainly at the behest of liberal Democrats, was Richard Viguerie.

With his Wallace list he could sell his services to appropriately reactionary candidates to help them reach the small contributors they now urgently needed. Through a series of campaigns, Viguerie piggybacked his list, prospecting for the best ones to add to his tapes. The list expanded geometrically. Suddenly, Viguerie was in the big time.

"The left has missed a lot of things," he advises. "They think of direct mail as fundraising. They miss the whole boat if they think that. It is a form of advertising."

"It is just a fact of life that the major media of this country has a left-of-center perspective. The conservatives can't get their message around this blockade, except through direct mail. It's a way of mobilizing our people; it's a way of communicating with people. It's self-liquidating and it pays for itself. It's a form of advertising, part of the marketing strategy."

Political satellites.

Viguerie began his thrust for leadership of the New Right in 1974, when Gerald Ford nominated Nelson Rockefeller to serve as his vice-president. The Rockefeller appointment was the final affront to the New Right. Viguerie attempted to block the selection. He telephoned more than a dozen conservative movers and shakers and invited them to his office. "The conservative leaders of America in that room didn't know how to go from point A to point Z," recalls Viguerie. "I saw very dramatically that nobody knew how to organize."

er Politics



Don Horneman

It was then that Viguerie started to develop his theory of leadership, a conception of a counterrevolutionary vanguard.

"There is a lot of planning and communication within the conservative movement that didn't exist a half-dozen years ago," says Viguerie. "A dozen or so key leaders are moving in a very bold, dramatic, decisive way. We've had people who were well known, who were very articulate, who could write very well, could speak, had charisma. Naturally everyone would think that's a leader. But there's a difference between a spokesman and a leader."

Viguerie believes that history is the story of great men, that personalities are the driving force of events. The masses to him are inconsequential compared to their leaders. This attitude, however, generates extraordinary passion in Viguerie. The day I spent with him he was up at four in the morning to write a fundraising appeal. He reserves his most fervent evangelism for his copy writing. His true pulpit is in an envelope. "I feel," he says, "that when I have spent five or six hours writing a letter I am the audience. When I am finished I am physically wrung out. I am exhausted because I put myself in there emotionally. I feel for the people, for the cause. It's very emotional. A lot of my clients say it sounds too cornball, too conversational, it's not dignified. But people respond to emotionalism. The successful and effective speakers are emotional."

There's more to these solicitations than a visceral release for Viguerie. Direct mail is part of a grand strategy. It fits in with his theory of the counterrevolutionary vanguard, because a vanguard without a movement is simply a sect. Viguerie doesn't just tender advice to candidates and single-issue groups, lending his talent for a fee. He is working from the bottom up to create a constituency. In the language of the left, he's base building.

Direct mail is not Viguerie's only or-

ganizational tool. He has created a political conglomerate with satellites spinning in orbit around the direct-mail operation. Viguerie believes in political manifest destiny. Political action committees (PACs) expedite his missions. They spend millions: in 1972 congressional races, established conservative groups dropped a mere \$250,000; but in 1976, with Viguerie geared up, new conservative groups raised almost \$5.6 million.

One of his PACs, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, which helped elect fifty-five New Rightists to office across the country in 1978, prefers to give candidates material services rather than outright grants of money. NCPAC will provide polling, media advice, and campaign management training, bringing the ensemble of modern techniques to the politician.

Another, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) selects the candidates it wants to help and then runs them through a training seminar. In 1978, CSFC helped elect twenty-six congressmen and five U.S. senators. The key to success of this PAC is a precinct organization plan, which is presented as a revelation. It calls for an organization of precinct workers to be assigned voter turnout goals and supervised by area chairmen. The average twelve-year-old in Chicago could devise a more complicated scheme. But to the New Right this approach is novel.

The group that best reflects the comprehensive Viguerie viewpoint, combining the vanguard with the base, single-issue campaigns with political races, is the Conservative Caucus in Boston, headed by Howard Phillips.

In 1978, Phillips ran for the Senate nomination as a Democrat, which struck most Bay State Democrats as ludicrous. Phillips, after all, is a former official of the Nixon administration. But his move indicated the drift of New Right strategy.

Phillips's ideas reflect his experience.

He doesn't engage in idle theorizing. Obviously, he has a strong impact on Viguerie and the rest of the New Right. "In 1968 I was a conservative Republican," he says. "In 1979 I'm a conservative period." He received his education at the hands of Richard Nixon. When Phillips was student government leader at Harvard in 1960, Nixon was his hero. Now he sadly admits, "I'm without heroes."

In 1974, Phillips formed a group called CREEP II, Conservatives for the Removal of the President. He was afraid that Nixon would make concessions to the Russians as he tried to fend off the Watergate inquiry. After Nixon's resignation, Phillips blueprinted plans for the Conservative Caucus. "I went to Viguerie," he says. "And we went in the mail."

Once outside the Nixon administration Phillips explored political options. Perhaps he learned the most from the left. "People in the conservative movement today aren't conventionally ambitious. It's the same way on the left," he says. "A lot of conservatives have read Saul Alinsky. If something works, we're for doing it. We need a grass-roots organization and we're developing a system for doing it broadly."

Phillips's Conservative Caucus can take credit for Gordon Humphrey's victory in New Hampshire. Less directly, the New Right has influenced other elections, mainly by creating a favorable conservative climate.

Armies of the Right.

The New Right strategy calls for support of conservatives, whether they're Republican or Democratic. New Rightists avoid the problem of political parties, partly because of Ronald Reagan's failure in 1976, and play the extraparlimentary role instead. Their stress on coalitions may be tempered if an opportunity ever opens up to take over the GOP, not an unlikely scenario in the years ahead.

Viguerie's empire will be at the eye of the coming political storm. Yet even now he is being criticized by conservative Republican dissidents for his business practices. From three of his PACs, for example, he clears 83 percent of the total take. Certainly, he makes piles of money. But it seems out of character for conservatives to attack a political rival for his entrepreneurial zeal. Isn't that what they're fighting for? Viguerie is an exemplar of economic individualism.

There's more than a touch of Horatio Alger to Richard Viguerie. He's driven to self-improvement, up at four in the morning. But Viguerie isn't a conventional go-getter. He believes that free will is tied to post-mortem punishment. "I believe in reincarnation," he asserts. Strangely, he sees this as a liberating concept. "After I began to understand reincarnation," he says, "the idea that we are all responsible for ourselves, that things don't happen to us accidentally, it was exciting. You reap what you sow."

His mysticism suffuses his politics with confidence. Viguerie's religion gives him a sense of divine direction. More, his religiosity is a justification for his practicality. He feels free to pursue his career, certain that it meets with heavenly approval. He is in control of his life and his machines.

He's upbeat, 1980 promises to be a good year, and after that things look even better. He believes that the left is beginning to retreat before his advancing legions. "If the AFL-CIO wasn't worried about direct mail they wouldn't stay up nights worrying about me," he says. "It's a defensive posture by basically older people who don't know how to stop it. You can't stop it. Ask the French how defense works. It doesn't."

"Offense picks the terrain," I suggest.

"Exactly," Viguerie replies. "That's good," he muses. "I'll have to use that."

CONYERS & COLLINS



The Big Oil price rip-off and how it can be stopped

AT RAS TANURA, SAUDI ARABIA'S PORT, CRUDE OIL COSTS between 15¢ and 20¢ per barrel (less than one-half cent a gallon) put aboard a tanker. The latest Saudi posted price on light crude oil is \$18 a barrel, 100 times the cost of production and 1,000 percent higher than what oil sold for eight years ago. ¶ This extraordinary spread between cost and price adds up to handsome profits. The profits are shared between the Government of Saudi Arabia and the Aramco Consortium, a Delaware-chartered corporation with four stockholders—Exxon, Mobil, Socal and Texaco.

With average production of 9 million barrels per day, overall profits amount to \$58 billion annually. The spread between cost and price is also the measure of the price-fixing, supply-restricting power of the OPEC cartel and the market control exerted by the multinational oil companies.

Even the companies' share in these profits is not enough. Normally, when a firm operating abroad incurs business costs, such as royalties paid to foreign governments, it claims a regular tax deduction. However, when Aramco pays out royalties to the Saudis, it is able to write them off on a dollar-for-dollar basis as tax credits, applied directly against the income taxes it owes in the U.S. Ordinary taxpayers have to make up the difference, which the leading critic of oil tax credits, Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.), estimates has cost the Treasury more than \$10 billion since 1970.

How can a 100-fold difference between the cost of Saudi oil and its price be sustained against competition from other crude oil producers? It can because the OPEC cartel eliminates competition. OPEC is sustained in doing so by the multinational oil companies, which resist all moves to develop new non-OPEC sources of supply that would destabilize their market control and jeopardize the privileges they already enjoy.

OPEC and "Seven Sisters."

Oil price wars used to take place. In 1920 Royal Dutch Shell and Standard Oil (now Exxon) battled over prices using cheap Russian oil, as new oil production was gearing up in Venezuela, Mexico and Iraq. To deal with the destabilizing competition and price erosion, Exxon, Shell and British Petroleum signed the Achnacarry Agreement of 1927. The "Big Three" agreed to coordinate their production and pricing. Today, the same arrangement exists among the "Seven Sisters": Socal, Texaco, Mobil, and Gulf along with Exxon, Shell and British Petroleum.

The world oil revolution of 1973-74 brought about a new set of actors—the OPEC cartel—alongside the Seven Sisters. The OPEC governments seized control over pricing. But their continuing ability to raise prices regardless of the costs—which normally would bring about competition from other sources—means that close control over production must still exist. The oil companies sustain the cartel by refusing to purchase all the oil available outside of it.

They have also prevented the development of new non-OPEC supplies in the Third World. As Exxon executive Howard Page once told a Senate Subcommittee investigating the lag in development of new oil sources worldwide, "I might put some money in it if I was sure we weren't going to get some oil, but not if we were going to get oil because we are liable to lose the Aramco concession."

The world oil market frequently has been on the verge of a glut in supplies. The 1920 glut was brought under control by the inter-company agreement. Currently, the cartel and the multinationals deal with over-supply by coordinating production, shutting down operating wells, and deciding on where and how much to buy.

A year ago W.W. Blackledge, a Gulf Oil executive, claimed there were about 3 million barrels a day of unsold crude oil in the non-communist world and an additional 6 million barrels a day that was producible but held in shut-down wells (*Oil and Gas Journal*, May 22, 1978). That 9 million barrels of unsold oil should put to rest all the allegations this year of a world shortage due to cutbacks in Iranian production, which normally amounted to only 5 million barrels a day.

In addition, OPEC production plummeted 9.3 percent in the first half of 1978 while non-OPEC output, in Alaska's North Slope, the North Sea, and Mexico, rose 9.2 percent. OPEC production plummeted 9.3 percent even before the cutback in Iran. (*Oil and Gas Journal*, Aug. 28, 1978). This strongly suggests that

OPEC oil was cut back to avert saturating the market and eroding prices.

Cutting the cord

The oil-producing countries share the desire to extract the maximum revenue from each barrel of oil they sell. Higher posted prices for Saudi oil mean higher profits for the Aramco-owned oil. It is unrealistic to expect the multinationals to fight against the oil price spiral. Besides increasing their profits, higher OPEC prices place upward pressure on the price of domestic oil that the companies control.

Given the status quo, it is quite possible for the world price of oil to rise to as much as \$100 a barrel because of the extreme dependence of the industrialized world on oil. The OPEC cartel could be severely weakened, however, by the development of oil reserves beyond its borders and by cutting the umbilical cord that ties together the cartel and the multinational companies.

In a study commissioned by the World Bank, geophysicist Dr. Bernardo Grossling reported that total global petroleum reserves run as high as 6,000 billion barrels and would last as long as 280 years at the current rate of consumption. Huge untapped reservoirs exist in Peru, Argentina, Brazil, the Congo Basin, Pakistan, Burma and Australia. This estimate does not include oil reserves that could be tapped with enhanced recovery methods. Over 80 percent of all oil wells ever drilled are in North America; the rest of the world awaits intensive exploration.

Not surprisingly, the oil companies oppose serious drilling in these areas. They strongly resisted the \$1 billion loan program that the World Bank announced in January to spur oil and gas development. What is needed is independent funding to wildcat operators who would undertake exploratory drilling in non-OPEC Third World countries. Yet even with independent oil production, market competition would remain stymied if the companies were left in charge of the purchase and sale of foreign oil. These companies suc-

cessfully boycotted Mexican nationalized oil in 1938 and Iranian nationalized oil in 1951. They could do it again.

The Oil Imports Act (H.R. 3604) introduced in the House of Representatives by Benjamin Rosenthal, Charles Rose and John Conyers is designed to cut the cord of cartel-multinational collaboration and wrest control of the buying and selling of foreign oil from the multi-nationals. It would set up an independent and publicly accountable federal nonprofit corporation whose sole function is to negotiate directly with oil producers, shop around the world for oil at the lowest prices, and resell the products in the U.S.

It would give the federal government the power to sign long-term contracts with non-OPEC countries that would promote new sources of supply. It also would provide reliable information about the oil purchased overseas, where it is refined and sold, the uses to which it is put, and whether or not real shortages exist, information presently hoarded and hidden by the multinationals.

In reselling the oil, the corporation would awaken competition among all domestic marketers, currently under the thumbs of the big companies, and ensure maximum use of domestic refinery capacity, whose utilization today is limited by the companies' interest in using their cheaper overseas refineries.

This legislation has aroused considerable support in Congress and is the subject of hearings now being held by the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee, chaired by Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio).

Foreign oil will remain a major source of energy for years to come. Ways have to be found to assure a reliable supply at the lowest price and from the most diverse sources, and this supply has to be freed from the control of the multinational oil companies.

John Conyers is a Member of Congress from the First District of Michigan. Frank Collins is Consultant on Energy Policy to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, AFL-CIO.

BOOKS

Liberal press pushes human rights for some

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HUMAN RIGHTS, Volume One: THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION AND THIRD WORLD FASCISM.

By Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman
Boston: South End Press, \$5.50.

By Michael Kazin

For over a decade, Noam Chomsky has been a leading critic of the ideology and rhetoric of U.S. foreign policy. Co-author Edward Herman, a business school professor, has written widely on corporate links to the American empire. Together, they present a devastating case of cover-up by liberal periodicals like *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *The New Republic*.

Since the defeat in Vietnam in 1975, the role of the press, the authors claim, has been to reinterpret U.S. motives and actions in the Third World. Support for real bloodbaths in Indonesia, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Chile are justified by the spectre of internal revolt; while the creation of "mythical bloodbaths" in Indochina is used to gain popular support for U.S. policy.

Consistently, Chomsky and Herman argue, the media's coverage of political repression is selectively focused on unfriendly governments: "The trial of a single Soviet dissident, Anatol Shcharansky, received more newspaper space in 1978 than the several thousand official murders in Latin America during the same year, not to speak of the vast number of lesser events such as tortures and massive dispossession."

The result is the near-invisibility of

domestic opposition to U.S. policy in the Third World, compared to the strong protests of a decade ago when the grisly facts of the Indochina war could not be withheld from the public.

The book is a powerful indictment, an encyclopedia of horrors and the complicity of the opinion-molders. An earlier version, written in 1973, was suppressed by its publisher, the Warner communications conglomerate, after 20,000 copies were printed and publicity material readied for mailing. William Sarnoff, chairman of Warner books, took the action because he was "pained" by the volume's description of America's leaders as administrators of mass murder.

In their zeal to present a brief on unpublicized crimes, the authors neglect to explain why the press has such a blindspot on atrocities committed by American-supported regimes. Though they write that one of their main concerns is "the process of brainwashing under freedom," they do little more than refer to the close relationship between media corporations and government without detailing and documenting how it works.

Perhaps such an analysis is secondary to the main purpose of the book. Ideological bias is so entangled with the conception of what is "news" that it may be impossible to draw distinctions between conscious and unconscious distortion or censorship. Millions of Americans who see *The Deer Hunter* easily accept the lie that the Vietnamese Communists forced POW's to play Russian roulette. The actual horror of the U.S.-built "tiger cages" is remembered only by anti-war activists—and by the victims who survived.

PAST AND PRESENT

Abolitionists offer vital legacy today

By Howard N. Meyer

FOR THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SUPREME COURT'S school desegregation decision, (*Brown vs. Board of Education*), Public Television offered a combination interview/reminiscence featuring Charlayne Hunter-Gault. Hunter-Gault, whose role actually had been played 7 years after *Brown*, and at the college level, observed concerning an otherwise "civilized" fellow student, who had been hostile to her painful effort to integrate the University of Georgia, "He was a product of a heritage in which segregation was a way of life."

That heritage has been manifested in several ways. Not quite so readily identified has been the complementary legacy, in which indifference to segregation was a way of life.

Still another legacy, reflecting a tradition which grew and flourished before the Civil War, has been all but obliterated in popular consciousness. When identified it has been called "abolitionism." Pigeonholed as "abolitionism," it was in fact a "way of life" and, unfortunately, as a tradition it has been passed down to a slender minority.

It may well be that the retreat from racial equality of the late 1960s, which in the 1970s seemed to become a rout, is attributable to the fact that this abolitionist tradition did not get into enough hearts and minds.

It was a movement based on the political and moral rejection of racism. It insisted on the full humanity of blacks and the implementation of the egalitarian avowals of the Declaration of Independence, which had been dropped with the Constitution of 1787.

Feminism and abolitionism.

The real upsurge of militant abolitionism began in the early 1830s. A typical document was the charter of the New England Anti Slavery Society of 1832. "The objects of the Society shall be: not merely abolition, but obtaining for free people of color 'equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'"

Lydia Maria Child, a popular novelist and non-fiction writer at the time, lost touch of her readership when she produced a widely read and influential race relations text entitled "An Appeal for that Class of Americans Called Africans." Writing as a Bostonian, in the "cradle of Liberty" she told her fellow Northerners, "While we bestow our earnest disapprobation on the system of slavery, let us not flatter ourselves that we are in reality any better than our brethren of the South....Our prejudice against colored people is even more inveterate than it is at the South."

Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote that Child's effort "was the first anti-slavery work ever produced in America in book form" and "the ablest." "I know that, on reading it for the first time, nearly ten years after its first appearance, it had more formative influence on my mind in that direction than any other."

So who was Thomas Wentworth Higginson? That such a question may rise in the minds of more than 80 percent of my readers (even more if this appeared in some other periodical) is a measure of the extent to which the abolitionist legacy has been submerged.

The somewhat literate will recognize the name of Emily Dickinson's friendly correspondent, the person whose literary

friendship meant much during her lifetime and whose prestige helped to secure first publication of her work afterward. For this his reward has been repeated distortion of his character and role, most recently in the TV travesty "The Belle of Amherst." But it is for the career that attracted Dickinson to him that he should be remembered.

From pulpit to battlefield.

Radicalized by his encounter with anti-racist abolitionism, Higginson, a product of Harvard's Divinity School, preached himself "out of the pulpit" at Newburyport not only by antislavery agitation and condemnation of the war against Mexico, but also for reduction of the factory-workers' day to 10 hours. He was soon in the forefront of the first wave of feminism and identified with that movement until his death sixty years later.

He went on to be a champion of the freedom fighters in Kansas and as a logical sequence, met John Brown and, as one of the so-called Secret Six, aided the revolutionary liberation enterprise that failed at Harpers Ferry and yet succeeded. He defended Brown in some of the articles that were forerunners of a series that made him one of the most prolific contributors to the *Atlantic Monthly*.

This productivity was interrupted, after publication of the piece to which Dickinson responded, by a call to military service: leadership of the first regiment of ex-slaves permitted to fight for their freedom. How this white anti-racist humanist and his men came to love and respect one another was evocatively displayed in his dispatches to the *Atlantic*, later collected and published as *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, a superb and mainly neglected element of the American literary heritage.

Much later in life, Higginson was to become a founder, with Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Theodore Dreiser, of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (subsequently the League for Industrial Democracy) and with a number of other surviving abolitionists, the American Anti-Imperialist League, a group whose condemnation of the role of U.S. troops in—the Philippines—was no less pointed than that of the antiwar movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Oblivion was the fate of abolitionist, anti-racist Thomas Wentworth Higginson, save for the secondary treatment he gets in the Emily Dickinson connection. Caricature and defamatory distortion are worse fates, one supposes. Leading political figures cannot be easily wiped out to obliterate the heritage for which their names should stand. But as with Higginson, the legacy of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner has also been blocked from becoming a heritage and a "way of

life" as proud to bear as segregation is infamous, by political character assassination that might make a Stalin gasp with astonishment.

Stevens and Sumner recognized, and in every fiber of their beings rejected, the concept on which slavery was based: "the assumed fact," as abolitionist editor Sydney Gay, later managing editor of the *New York Tribune* wrote, "that the Negroes are an inferior race, over whom the whites possess not merely an artificial superiority dependent upon the existing circumstances of their mutual position, but a natural superiority, which exists and ever must exist."

Early Civil Rights law.

To the deathbed and to the grave, Sumner and Stevens rejected and combatted this. For several years, toward the end of Reconstruction in the early 1870s, Sumner had striven to put through Congress a comprehensive Civil Rights Bill extending to places of public accommodation, transportation and the like a guarantee against racial discrimination. By the time there had gathered enough forces to put the bill over, Sumner was stricken with a terminal cardiac seizure. He rose from his death bed to say to Republican Senators George Hoar and Carl Schurz, who were with him at the end, "You must take care of the civil rights bill—my bill, the civil rights bill—don't let it fail."

Thaddeus Stevens, pragmatic and skillful leader of the House in the 1860s, had himself carried into the House daily while dying, to continue to the end the struggle against Andrew Johnson's racism. He composed his own graveyard inscription—

I repose in this quiet and secluded spot,
Not from any natural preference for
solitude
But finding other Cemeteries limited
as to race by Charter Rules
I have chosen this that I might
illustrate in my death
The Principles which I advocated
Through a long life:
EQUALITY OF MAN BEFORE
HIS CREATOR.

The posthumous defamation of character inflicted on Stevens has been more vicious and effective than that directed at Sumner, but not more unfair. This may have been in part because Stevens was a very capable legislative leader, Sumner more of a merely moral leader. In part, too, the besmirching of Stevens' image was a product of the gross and hostile caricature drawn in D.W. Griffiths' film, *Birth of a Nation*, which left not only a direct legacy, but an indirect one in the image so like the cinema portrait of the black-browed, evil-visaged and implacable man whose only motivation was revenge.

To touch only on one high spot—his leadership in the House during the Civil War and its contribution to the 13th amendment, outlawing slavery, could be another—the death of Lincoln was followed by Johnson's appointment of unreconstructed white governors in the recently rebel states. They and Pres. Johnson used the phrase "a white man's government." Stevens responded: "This is not a white man's government...This is a Man's government, the Government of all men alike....Our fathers repudiated the whole doctrine of the legal superiority of families or races, and proclaimed the equality of men before the law. Upon that they created a revolution and built a Republic."

Suiting his actions to his words, Stevens exerted the leadership that brought about the creation of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, which ultimately produced the Fourteenth Amendment, designed to insure equality before the law, only implicit in the 13th, and to nationalize the Bill of Rights. That these objectives were frustrated within a few years and not retrieved for most of a century does not detract from the magnitude of Stevens' achievement.

Charles Sumner's legacy is a broad one. He was "one of the nation's foremost statesmen," wrote the late historian Louis Ruchames. "Scholar humanitarian, and senator from 1851 to his death in 1874,

Continued on page 17.

CHALLENGING CORPORATE POWER: Resources You Can Use

Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders. \$5. Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb (May 1979) 85 pp.

Union leaders, public officials, community leaders and professors will welcome this comprehensive resource manual detailing the problems of plant closings and runaway shops. Included are the most informative magazine articles, essays, policy reports and press clips on the causes of plant closings, and the organizing and legislative strategies to prevent them. Very useful for course adoption and union education programs.

Industrial Exodus. \$2.50 Ed Kelly (1977) 30 pp.

What can be done about plant closings and runaway shops? This concise booklet outlines an action program for unions, community groups, states and the federal government. A classic study widely used by labor and community organizations.

The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices. \$2.50 David Smith (June 1979) 20 pp.

This short paper introduces public officials and policy analysts to a new conceptual tool for analyzing the impact of public and private economic decisions. The author outlines his concept of "the public balance sheet."

Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders. \$5. Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb (May 1979) 80 pp.

One of the major reasons why property taxes are so high is because of the tax abatements, or special deals that corporations wrest from local governments. *Tax Abatements* is an up-to-date resource manual which details not only the problem, but the tactics public officials, community groups and labor unions have successfully used to fight them. Excellent for course adoption and trade union education programs.

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JOSE LA LUZ

Hispanic trade unionists take political initiative

IN THE EARLY 1970S, A SMALL GROUP OF HISPANIC TRADE unionists discussed creating an organization to establish a visible Hispanic presence in the labor movement and to increase participation of Hispanic workers in the political process. ¶ The initiators of this process understood that, to build such an organization, the isolation of Hispanic workers in their unions and in electoral politics would have to be overcome. That isolation has resulted in severe underrepresentation of the Hispanic community at all levels. ¶ They also recognized that many Hispanic union members are active in their own communities, in organizing to obtain better jobs, decent housing, adequate health care and quality education serving their cultural and linguistic realities.

These leaders foresaw that if Hispanic workers became active unionists they could contribute vitality that would strengthen the labor movement and heighten the awareness of other workers about the particular problems and aspirations of the growing Hispanic minority in America. The fundamental objective of these efforts was to build an alliance between the labor movement and Hispanics to make substantial gains in the struggle for social justice and economic equality.

All these efforts came to fruition when a new organization—the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA)—was founded in November, 1973, in Washington, D.C. It included Hispanic trade unionists from various international unions and from different national origins—Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans

and South and Central Americans. Two years later when they convened again in Albuquerque, N.M., this organization had grown tremendously with more than 25 chapters in 12 states having large concentrations of Hispanics.

In its Declaration of Principles, LCLAA adopted a posture consistent with its class character and orientation by stating that "the traditional enemies of the aspirations of workers to a decent life are also, in the main, the enemies of the aspirations of the Latin American people. It is, therefore, our intention to unite for a common goal in repelling the nefarious aims of such negative forces."

To achieve these objectives, LCLAA leaders envisioned the improvement and development of better communication and cooperation among Hispanics active in the labor movement. But perhaps more important, they emphasized the necessity of forging a solid block of all peoples of Hispanic descent in the U.S. They were well aware of the strategic importance of such a united front with a solid base in

the labor movement.

The LCLAA this year has issued a call to Hispanic organizations to participate in a National Conference on "Jobs for Hispanic Americans" to take place in Albuquerque, N.M., July 30 to August 2.

The conference will bring together prominent leaders in the Hispanic communities, with participants from those parts of the country having substantial concentrations of Hispanics, to deal with socioeconomic conditions, and particularly the problem of high Hispanic unemployment.

The question of undocumented workers will be one of the most controversial subjects. It will be interesting to see how the participants respond to the diversity of views on that subject, ranging from the position of the AFL-CIO, to be presented by Thomas Donohue, Executive Assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany, to that of Eduardo Pena, National President of the League of United Latin American Citizens.

The conference is seen as part of the movement for a full employment economy in America. The impact of the Humphrey-Hawkins legislation on the Hispanic communities will be examined.

It is imperative that the organizers of the conference see it as an opportunity to focus on a common strategy to fight against the Corporate right-wing offensive.

At a time when hard-won social programs and worker's gains at the bargaining table are threatened by the proliferation of the right-wing merchants of fear, deceit and manipulation, Hispanics must join with those struggling for social progress. This is indeed the challenge that the National Hispanic Conference on Jobs has to deal with.

All activists in the Hispanic communities as well as our friends in the labor movement interested in this conference and wanting to know more about it should write to: Alfredo Montoya, Executive Director, LCLAA, 815 16th St. N.W., Washington D.C. 20006.

Jose LaLuz, a longtime social activist in the Hispanic community, is a specialist in labor education programs for Hispanic trade unionists at the School of Labor and Industrial Relations of Michigan State University. With this column, La Luz begins his regular commentary on Hispanic affairs for IN THESE TIMES.

Legacy

Continued from page 15.

Sumner contributed magnificently to some of the most important social causes of his day: the abolition of slavery, prison reform, public education, and international peace....He was one of the early proponents of the eight-hour day." This is the man of whom the historian D.J. Boorstin wrote, he "made not one solid constructive contribution to American politics." Of such are Librarians of Congress made.

It is fitting at this time of commemoration of the Brown decision's 25th anniversary to note that Sumner, as a private lawyer, working with a black colleague, argued against the segregation of Boston's

schools in 1849. In his argument he anticipated by more than a century what Chief Justice Earl Warren, in a footnote credited to "modern" psychology, "[The Blacks] feel their proscription from the common schools as a peculiar brand. It adds to their discouragements. It widens their separation from the community." Not only that, said Sumner, but going further than the Court of a century later, "The whites themselves are injured by the separation. Who can doubt this? With the law as their monitor...they regard a portion of the human family...as a separate and degraded class...Their characters are debased..."

There's a clue to a legacy to cherish. ■ Howard N. Meyer is the author of *The Amendment that Refused to Die, a history of the Fourteenth Amendment* (revised edition, Beacon, 1978) and *Colonel of the Black Regiment, a biography of Thomas W. Higginson*.

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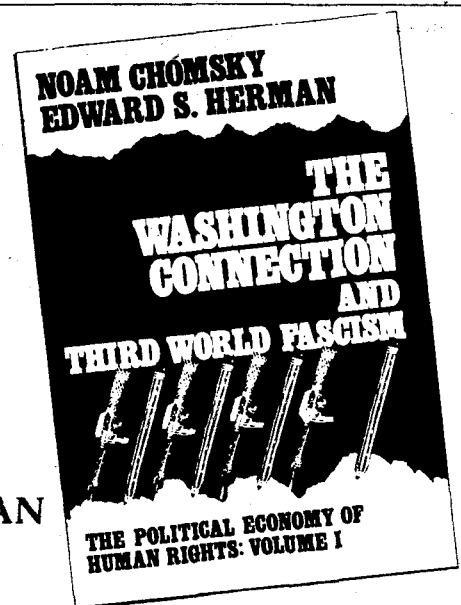
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PERSPECTIVES

New era for socialism: democracy is key weapon not peripheral ornament

By Bogdan Denitch

A SIGNIFICANT NEW PHENOMENON OF EUROPEAN SOCIALIST politics is the reversal of the traditional relationship between the trade union and parliamentary wings of the labor and socialist parties. Until a decade ago, it was taken for granted that the trade unions were the moderate, right-wing of the movement, while the parliamentary party and the constituency groups were leftist. ¶ Because of profound transformations of the European work force, this relationship is now exactly reversed in most European countries. In Sweden,

Germany, France, Holland, even Italy and Great Britain to a certain extent, the push to the left now comes from the trade union battalions.

Given the great dependence of those parties on the organized labor movement it means that, for the first time, fundamental, structural challenge to the existing status quo has a stable, organizational mass base. The reaction to the recent setbacks of the European and British left will, in most cases, push the parties to a reexamination of their traditional politics.

If nothing else, it seems reasonably clear that the ideological crisis affects the Communist as well as the Socialist movement. There is no ready guide in either tradition as to what is an appropriate strategy for an advanced industrialized society with deep internal stresses and an economic downturn but no crisis of regime or, in other words, no revolutionary situation.

Revolutionary scenarios, when applied to present day Europe or the United States, have a profound unreality. It is as if one argued that a working class and a general left electorate, which was hesitant to give a majority to a reformist program, would rally instead to a more advanced revolutionary struggle. It is as if substantial forces existed outside of the organized left which were to the left of the existing CPs and SPs. There is no evidence that that is the case, except for marginal intellectuals, sometimes with minor followings among the unemployed, students, and younger workers.

"Real" Socialism

The real political problem is how to retain the traditional left base in the face of an industrial society which has gradually destroyed the basis of an independent working class culture. The new voters for the parties of the left can no longer be recruited on the basis of a living working class tradition but must be won over politically.

To win political adherence to the mass Socialist and Communist parties does require settling certain historical accounts. The most obvious one in Europe and, to a certain extent in the U.S., is the problem of what the Soviets call "Real" socialism. It does no good simply to state that socialists, or for that matter Eurocommunists, deplore the violations of human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, call for democratic restructuring of those societies and, even, in many cases, deny them the name socialist. That last is a finesse which unfortunately the mass media have made all but irrelevant.

The fact is that for the general public, the bureaucratic and repressive state socialisms of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are linked with the socialist and

working class parties in Western Europe. There is some relationship. We all feel it when discussing socialist politics in the United States. If not the first question, then the second invariably is, how will our socialism differ from the existing systems calling themselves socialist.

Behind that question lies a more serious one—how will we assure that our socialism will not degenerate into merely a more humane, bureaucratic copy of state socialism? After all, it was not the subjective intent of the leaders of the East European societies to build societies that would be abhorrent to their own workers and would require heavy doses of repression to survive.

Simply to say that we have a parliamentary tradition and are committed to democracy is nice, but not convincing, and becomes less convincing when we maintain nostalgic and sentimental links with regimes and parties that are at least ambivalent on the question of democracy. This, for example, is one reason why the kind of coverage ITT has been giving to the events in Cambodia and Vietnam has been profoundly damaging to the paper's own politics.

Without entering into a detailed argument, what everyone thinks about the Vietnamese, they are hardly the "Comrades" of a movement or a journal that considers itself democratic socialist.

One may understand why such a regime is involved in a massive expulsion of its Chinese minority, and has reeducation camps with some hundreds of thousands of persons in them. One may even accept the responsibility of American imperialism for having created the backdrop for these events. One may even be for a normalization of relations and trade and aid to Vietnam.

But that does not make the Vietnamese communists either socialist or democrats. And to treat them as flesh of our flesh, politically, simply is to reawaken all the doubts about how serious is our commitment to democratic values and norms.

Democracy the centerpiece.

In general, that is a problem with democratic socialists in Europe and the U.S. more often than the problem of sympathies for the dull state socialist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Ambivalence on the question of democracy in the case of the Third World and less developed countries reflects a not too subtle racism, i.e., socialism with democracy is necessary for us enlightened Westerners and Americans, but for the "lesser breeds," any old socialism will do, with or without democracy, the more radical and brutal the better.

Another way of addressing this general issue is to say that for the socialists to re-

gain their *elan* and relevance, and for a socialist movement to be able to draw on that which is the best in the American tradition, democracy must be made the centerpiece and not the peripheral ornament of socialist politics.

It is making democracy the centerpiece that gives a cutting edge to the demand for workers self-management, for the extension of popular power into the economy and society, for the assault on patriarchal and racist values, for the unleashing of the energies of the rank and file in the trade unions, for an assault on imperialist and interventionist policies by the U.S. around the world, and ultimately for achieving the democratic control and ownership of the economy and society by the masses of people.

In short, the consistent, relentless insistence on democracy is the socialist program. All of our economic demands ultimately rest on that issue, and in that, we are not merely drawing on the genuine dramatic traditions of our society but we remain utterly consistent with that vision of socialism that informed the thinking of such of our revolutionary forebears as Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Rosa Luxemburg.

Socialism was born as a modern mass movement, not out of the musings of Fabian bureaucrats but as the left revolutionary wing or radical democracy in 19th century Europe. The Soviet experience, however evaluated, clearly put that tradition in question, and whether one thinks of it as a tragedy, an experiment gone wrong, or the historical penalty paid for not having followed the Bolshevik Revolution with revolutions in the advanced countries of Western Europe, the Soviet experience posited the possibility of a "socialism" where democracy was either secondary or irrelevant.

There is no reason to expect that "socialism" and its spinoffs will be attractive to the working classes which already have more rights, organizationally and politically, than their counterparts under state socialism.

Winning the industrial heartland.

The socialism we stand for must therefore be associated with more rather than less democracy than exists under capitalism and with a vast expansion of rights for the strata excluded from the decision-making levels of advanced capitalist democracies. If one has this orientation, then clearly Eurocommunism is a welcome development because it promises to bring back to its original roots working class parties that had been in the shadow of the Soviet experience.

It promises to reconstitute a unified socialist and workers movement in the industrial heartland of capitalism, and the equivalent of that policy in the U.S. would be to build a broad democratic socialist movement within which former Communists and former social democrats could work, which would attract the activists of the 60s and 70s, and which could emerge as the intransigent defender of democratic rights and the extension of popular power.

The sentimental affair with state socialist systems and with Third World regimes

calling themselves socialist is not a harmless pastime to be excused in older revolutionaries. It is, on the contrary, in direct contradiction with what has to be done if a genuine American socialist movement is to be built.

To make myself more precisely understood, my quarrel is not with those who think that Cuba today is a regime that is more advanced and in many ways more progressive than that which it has replaced. My quarrel is with those who argue that what we have to learn from Castro is how to run a democratic society. When I support Cuba against the United States, it is despite, and not because of, the absence of democratic and working class rights in Cuba, and I believe that the Cuban revolution would not be weakened but rather strengthened if mass democratic institutions were allowed to arise.

There is something peculiar and archaic among American leftists who excuse violations of democracy in Third World countries. It is as if they regarded democracy as something that weakens a revolutionary regime, but all great social revolutions, at the point when they were genuinely revolutionary, precisely strengthened themselves by expanding rather than limiting democracy, by expanding the participation of the hitherto excluded, and by permitting the creative energies from below to be released.

It is not in the tutelage of parties with "correct lines" that revolutionary struggles were won; on the contrary, those parties consolidated power in the French and Russian revolutions after the victory of the revolutions. And we should, as socialists and revolutionary democrats, be clear on this.

For us, democracy is a central weapon in the struggle for expansion of popular power and not a reward to be given to a people or a working class after they have successfully accomplished the tasks set for them by a self-selected vanguard. ■

This is the second of a two-part series. Bogdan Denitch, a professor of sociology specializing in international affairs at the Graduate School, City University of New York, is the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's representative to the Socialist International for 1979.



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Carter

Continued from page 3.

would require either a larger deficit or new taxes. (They were unwilling to make the argument that what citizens would lose in increased taxes they would gain in decreased medical costs.) Blumenthal and Schultze also argued that too few people needed health insurance. With the economy overheating, they saw the problem as too much rather than too little health insurance.

Carter's domestic political advisors convinced him to make the commitment to national health insurance at the March 1978 meeting, but by May Carter was beginning to move away. After the July principles were announced, HEW staffers were asked to prepare a plan in which catastrophic health insurance would be the first phase of a comprehensive plan. In fall 1978, this plan was sent to the White House and was received, according to one staff member, in "dead silence." Finally, Carter let it be known that he didn't approve of the plan.

The HEW plan envisaged a comprehensive program, with five phases sketched. The phases would follow each other automatically at set intervals. Congress would vote on the entire plan. It was a phased-in version of the new Kennedy plan.

Carter wanted a clear program for the first phase with only a vague outline of the entire program. "We thought Carter wanted what Kennedy was doing," former HEW staff member Kathy Schoen said. "But he wanted the opposite."

In January 1979, a directive was sent to HEW to prepare a catastrophic plan for March. This decision signalled the final abandonment of national health insurance. It left a trail of bitterness in HEW, which led to the resignation of several top health insurance planners. Others, including Assistant Secretary Richard Worden and Social Security head Stan Ross, are rumored to be leaving at the end

of Carter's first term, or even sooner if Kennedy should decide to challenge Carter.

The departed officials are being replaced with others more congenial to the Carter approach. I interviewed national health insurance planner Georgi Jones, a recent HEW appointee. I asked Jones whether it would cost more or less to bypass the insurance companies in financing any federal health insurance. "I've never been asked that question before," she said.

Jones pondered the question for several moments, as if I had asked her about the cancer rates in Greenland or hospital costs in Sri Lanka. "I guess you've got a system," she said, "and you want to build on the part of the system that works."

Making things worse.

Carter's decisions on national health insurance showed the same pattern as his decisions on energy and the military. Political obedience to traditional Democratic constituencies led to false promises and finally betrayal and bitterness. Schoen, who left HEW after the final Carter directive, believes that Carter would have been much better off, both within HEW and with national health insurance proponents, if he had simply declared such a program impossible in 1978 and not led Kennedy, labor, and HEW along.

Just as with energy and the military, Carter is now proposing a program that will actually make things worse. The Carter proposal for catastrophic health insurance, to be unveiled later this month, provides total coverage for catastrophic illnesses after the afflicted has exhausted \$2500 of his or her own money. The cost of the insurance premium, which would be purchased from private insurance firms and the Blues, would be divided between employer and employee, with the employee paying up to 25 percent. Families of four whose income is less than \$4100 would be welcomed into Healthcare, a new system that will combine Medicare and Medicaid. Doctors will not be required to accept Healthcare patients.

The Carter plan has some obvious liabilities:

- By requiring a \$2500 deductible re-

gardless of income, it places an intolerably greater burden on low and middle-income people than it does on the well-to-do.

- By allowing physicians to refuse Healthcare patients, it will perpetuate the present two-class system of medical care, where Medicaid patients with their green cards are often refused service because they cannot pay what other patients can.

- It will provide physicians and hospitals with an automatic bailout as their costs spiral upwards and will encourage more expensive care. (Carter has linked his catastrophic proposal to the proposal to limit hospital costs. But the limit on hospital cost increases, which Congress has now pushed from 9 to 11.5 percent

a year, will not affect physician's fees, and it can easily be subverted by clever hospital accountants. "There's no doubt in my mind that any bookkeeper could get around it," one hospital administrator told me.)

Carter has been able to use this proposal for catastrophic insurance to divide former supporters of the Kennedy bill. House Ways and Means Committee members Charles Rangel (D-NY) and James Corman (D-CA) have both come out in favor of the Carter plan. CNHI director Max Fine acknowledges that, without Carter's support, the Kennedy bill will have little chance. "I don't see any way it can get through," he said.

Plans

Continued from page 4.

Hospital Association. A 1970 study of its supposedly public local boards found them dominated by hospital administrators and physicians.

Critics are even more skeptical of the ability of doctor-run PSROs to eliminate unnecessary surgery and to improve preventive care.

The Dellums Bill.

The Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), an organization founded in the 60s by doctors who had gone South to work in the civil rights movement, first proposed that a bill be drafted to set up a national health service. The bill took from 1971 to 1976 to draft. (See *ITT*, May 10, 1978.)

MCHR members saw the root of American health care problems in the system of fee-for-service medicine. They argue that as long as doctors, hospitals, and drug companies could make more money as people got sicker, there would be little incentive to improve the health care system and to reduce costs.

Numerous studies confirm their argument. In comparing the medical histories of patients in pre-paid health plans, where

doctors are salaried, and in Blue Shield, where fee-for-service is the rule, one researcher found the pre-paid patients had had half as much surgery as the Blue Shield patients. In Britain, there are half as many surgeons and surgeries *per capita* as in the U.S.

The Dellums bill makes doctors, nurses, and other health workers employees of a decentralized national health service, which is run by elected community, regional, state and national boards. Dellums' health expert Marilyn Elrod compared its functioning to the educational system, but with one important qualification: the source of funds would be a progressive national income tax and corporate tax rather than local property taxes.

Elrod maintained that a national health service would cut U.S. health costs by 10 percent.

A Committee for a National Health Service has been organized to back the Dellums bill. The bill has been endorsed by the United Electrical Workers and the United Mine Workers, whose clinics used to be the closest thing in the U.S. to a national health service.

But the bill has only eight co-sponsors in the House and none in the Senate.

"It is for after the revolution," CNHI director Max Fine said. But he acknowledged that as many as 20 or 25 percent of Americans would even now support such a revolutionary change.



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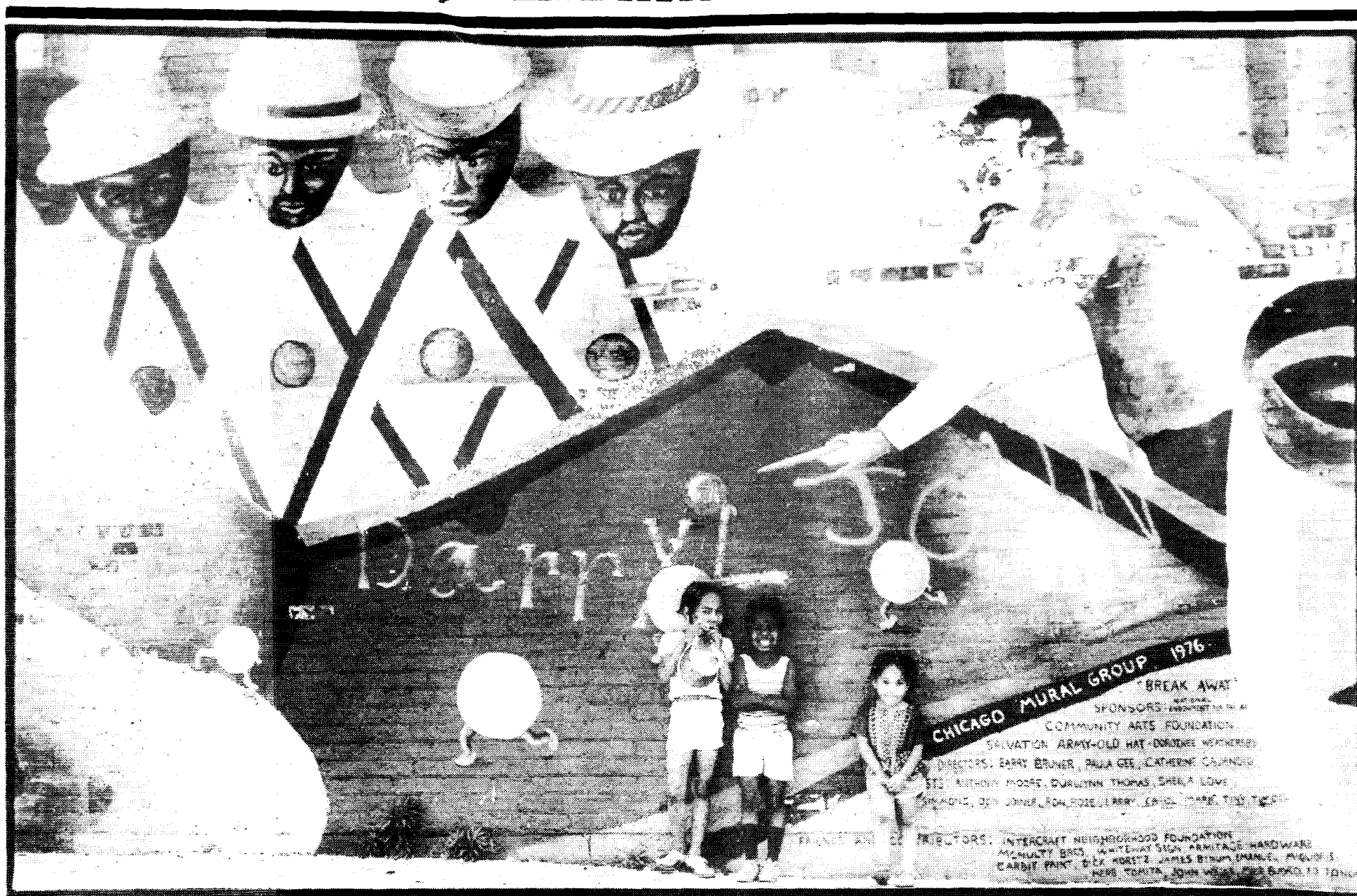
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By Joel Dreyfuss

COALITION

Blacks-Hispanics forge alliances

They are called the "minority for the 1980s." They grace the covers of national news magazines and the front pages of the big-city newspapers. Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown compete for their favor. They are Hispanics, the Mexican-Americans or Chicanos who—along with Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Latino immigrants—will soon outnumber blacks and become the largest minority group in the country.

Many blacks are apprehensive about the sudden surge of interest in Hispanics. "Other ethnic and religious groups have piggy-backed on our real and conceptual thrusts and like parasites have walked away with resources authorized by Congress and allocated by the President intentionally to benefit black people," said Cenie J. Williams, executive director of the National Association of Black Social Workers.

But a coalition of blacks and Hispanics would mean a bloc of 59 million people with a gross national product of \$150 billion. Such an alliance would provide these groups with the kind of political clout that would be impossible to ignore.

"It's the only obvious avenue we have," says Rep. George "Mickey" Leland (D-Tex), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus and co-chairman of the National Black-Hispanic Democratic Coalition.

"We have no option but to form an alliance," says Vilma Martinez, president and general counsel of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund.

"When you get down to the nitty-gritty, it's the only way to deal," says an aide to Rep. Robert Garcia, who represents a largely Spanish speaking district in New York City.

Differences.

In economic and political terms, differences between the two groups are real. In 1978, the median weekly earnings of Hispanics was \$174 against \$161 for blacks. (Both minorities were far behind the \$277 median for the total workforce.) While 18.9 per cent of blacks have completed only eight years of school, the figure for Hispanics is 30 per cent. In the 1976 elections, only 31.3 per cent of Hispanics voted, against 48.7 per cent of

blacks and 60.9 per cent of whites. There are 17 blacks in the U.S. Congress but just five Hispanics.

Many of these disparities are reflected in California, where various ethnic groups are expected to constitute more than half the state population by 1990. Chicanos represent about 16 per cent of California's population and blacks about eight per cent. Yet blacks hold eight seats in the state legislature against six for Hispanics.

There are three black members of Congress from California and only one Chicano, Rep. Edward Roybal of Los Angeles, who was censured by Congress last year over the Koreagate scandal. Los Angeles Chicanos have outnumbered blacks since 1970, but while the mayor and three members of the city council are black, there is no Hispanic on the city council or on the county board of supervisors. The potential for change in the near future is not good, concedes Assemblyman Art Torres, "because the districts have been gerrymandered."

The last decade has seen an explosion of Mexican-American political and cultural consciousness much like the black power movement of the 1960s. Just as it did for blacks a decade ago, this self-discovery often makes for abrasive relations with other groups. "If Vernon Jordan wants a national coalition," says Eduardo Sandoval, president of the influential Mexican-American Political Association, "then as a precondition we want the National Urban League to support our position on general amnesty (for illegal immigrants). We've been on the short end for a long time. We're going to be the biggest minority in five years. We'll wait until our bargaining position is stronger."

Hispanic leaders feel the first task is the organizing of their own communities.

"The only things that a politician understands are votes," says state senator Alex Garcia of Los Angeles. "That's the key and that must be our priority." Door-to-door voter registration is being carried out in East Los Angeles by the United Neighborhoods Organization and in Texas by the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project.

But the ferment in the Hispanic community has not always been welcome among blacks. "The only time Chicanos want to be minorities is when it's convenient," complains Margaret Pryor, a founder of Oakland's Black Women Organized for Political Action. "They react very strongly to the fact that blacks are in control of an organization."

Sandoval argues that blacks often approach Hispanics the wrong way. "The black American sees the Hispanic mushroom and he wants to step in and lead us, but that's not going to happen."

Conflict over issues.

One issue that has caused conflict is immigration. Chicanos view the flow of immigrants across the border as a fact that cannot be stopped by fences or legislation. The movement of workers will stop, they say, when economic conditions in Mexico improve.

Last year, Vilma Martinez of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Educational Fund (MALDEF) addressed the Urban League convention with an impassioned well-received plea for understanding of the immigration problem. But less than an hour later, a high-ranking black labor official was charging that immigrants were taking jobs away from blacks.

Recently, California's state legislature passed a ballot proposition to end busing for integration. The eight black legislators

voted against the bill but five of the six Chicanos supported the proposal because the suburban schools to which the inner-city Chicanos were being bussed lacked adequate bilingual programs. "We have no permanent friends," said outraged black state senator Diane Watson.

The language issue is another potential area of conflict. "Their hustle is the language," says a California black politician. "A lot of blacks agree with (Sen. S.I.) Hayakawa [a conservative Republican opposed to bilingualism] but they won't say it publicly." In the competition for public funds, many blacks see bilingual programs as an unnecessary expense that often pits them against Chicanos.

Common problems.

"The way money is distributed has divided the Chicano and black communities," says Miguel Chavoya, an Oakland community organizer. "We need to bring key leaders together and air our differences and realize we have certain things in common."

Such steps are being taken at the national level. Early this year, a number of black and Hispanic organizations, including the National Urban Coalition, the National Council of La Raza and ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican organization, met in Washington. The groups agreed to fight reductions in domestic program funding, cuts in CETA and bilingual programs. Black members agreed "to issue no further statements on undocumented workers until they conferred with Hispanics to reach a better understanding of Hispanic concerns."

At the Democratic Party's mid-term convention a Black and Hispanic Coalition was formed which includes several members of Congress and a cross-section of Chicano, Cuban-American and Puerto Rican groups. The group held its first "town meeting" in Houston last May. It was considered so successful that other meetings are scheduled for Miami, Los Angeles and New York.

"Once blacks and Hispanics realize that they are natural allies, that they have the same basic problems, the same political problems, they will begin to work together," says Luis Laurado, president of the Cuban-American coalition.

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SPORTSCENE

PROFESSIONAL SPORTS



Women's pro softball is still a shoestring operation for the San Jose Rainbow.

Women play softball to win

By Michael Kazin

SAN JOSE, CAL.

A LINEUP OF WOMEN IN SHORT pants may be playing the most exciting professional baseball in the Bay Area. The team is the San Jose Rainbow, and they play softball in a minor league stadium with the fences moved in and less than 1,000 people in the stands. The women of the Rainbow don't make \$150,000 a season, get asked to endorse deodorants or find reporters surrounding their lockers after a game. But they field almost flawlessly and pitch with both speed (up to 80 mph) and control. Ty Cobb would appreciate the way they score runs: a bunt, a stolen base, then a dash home on a blooper that falls just past the infielders' gloves.

With a virtual media blackout, the Rainbow attract few fans, but the ones they do draw make more noise than the American League's Oakland A's (who are averaging only 3,700 fans a game) have heard in years. A frenetic young volunteer named Jennifer Bradley leads the forces. "O.K., I want this part of the crowd to yell, 'Go!'; this one, 'Rain'; and this one, 'Bow', when I tell you. Rea-a-dy? Go!" Bradley buttresses her cheerleading with a variety of props, including balloons, salt-water taffy, confetti, and plastic bags ("Blow 'em up and pop 'em at the end of this chant, O.K.?"). Women make up more than half the crowds, and a contingent of loyalists drives up every weekend from Bakersfield, 250 miles away.

The Rainbow are worth the trip. Outfielder-coach Diane Kalliam is the team's leadoff hitter. After 18 years of playing, Kalliam still tries to steal whenever she gets on base. Third-basewoman Brenda Gamblin, the only black on the club, stands only ten yards from the batter, so she can pounce on bunts and spear line drives before they have a chance to rise. Pitchers Bonnie and Rhonda Ebersole puzzle hitters with off-speed deliveries and drop balls that break like a good slider. Red-headed catcher Mary Reichert, a strong 6'1", leads the Rainbow in home runs. Reichert started catching in her teens because, "I always envied catchers; they got to wear shin guards, a mask and all that other neat stuff."

The Rainbow are probably the second-best team, after the experienced Connecticut Falcons, in the six-club International Womens Professional Softball Association. Connecticut's star pitcher Joan Joyce helped found the IWPSA in 1976 and is still its president. This season, the giant BIC corporation is flicking some funds the league's way to support what has previously been a financial loser.

Regional rivalries, always central to the popularity of men's professional baseball, don't yet exist in the IWPSA. There aren't enough teams. The closest cities in the league to San Jose are Edmonton, Alberta and St. Louis. However, the charged-

up athletes don't seem to mind the distances. They feel lucky to be playing at the height of their skills with women who root for each other like cheerful amateurs. As Brenda Gamblin says, "When you play like a unit, you're a happy team."

Players on strike.

Last spring most of the women now on the Rainbow weren't sure they'd ever play together again. The San Jose team, then called the Sunbirds, was owned by a nervous entrepreneur named John Bruno. After a couple of seasons, Bruno realized that he was never going to strike it rich with a women's softball franchise. So,

like many businessmen in trouble, he cut expenses to the minimum: no salaries, trainer, or adequate health and accident insurance. When Bruno also told the Sunbirds offhandedly he was not too concerned whether they won or lost, 12 of the players voted to strike.

The strike convinced the ex-Sunbirds to search for an owner who would let them run the team cooperatively. Kalliam says, "As a woman and an athlete, I couldn't play under those conditions. If the only way to produce the crop is to have slaves, then is the crop worth producing?"

This year, the San Jose club has a new owner, registered nurse and real-estate whiz Melenie Dickinson, to go with its new name. The management is a model of participatory democracy. Pitcher Bonnie Johnson handles souvenir sales. Shortstop Rayona Sharpnack works as general manager; while outfielder Coni Staff runs clinics for young prospects. Every player sells ads and does publicity. Salaries are low—no one on the team would tell me how low—but at least the poverty is shared.

Most players have full-time jobs. Kalliam and Johnson both coach college softball teams in the Bay Area. Brenda Gamblin is a researcher for Dow Chemical.

Would more people flock to the stadium if women played hardball on a field of major-league dimensions and wore full double-knits like their lime-lighted male counterparts? Diane Kalliam, the 36-year-old veteran, doesn't think so. "I believe softball is made for women," she says. "You watch a real good men's softball game and they look like they're cramped into a small area. But the field seems built for us." Short pants are a long tradition in women's softball. Though she is one of the leading base-stealers in the league, Kalliam has few complaints about sliding bare-legged. "Sure, on some real hard fields," she grimaces, "it hurts a lot and you get some real good raspberries. But," continues the coach, "if you learn to slide correctly, shorts are fine."

One country that doesn't think women's pro softball is second-rate is China. In April, an all-star team from the IWPSA (the Falcons plus representatives from the other five clubs) played two weeks of exhibitions in Beijing and Lanchow. Crowds at the games against Chinese teams averaged 40,000. According to the journal of the trip kept by Joan Joyce and another Falcon player: "[We] were a first in Lanchow. Never before had an American women's athletic team played there.... Scalpers could be seen outside the stadium gates." Meanwhile, in San Jose, the only daily newspaper didn't even announce the Rainbows' schedule.

WOMEN IN ATHLETICS

Out of the bleachers, on to the field

OUT OF THE BLEACHERS: WRITINGS ON WOMEN AND SPORT

Stephanie Litwin, editor
Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury,
N.Y., 11568. \$5.00

By Beth Bogart

"Of all the repressions visited on women by the heavy-handed centuries of paternalism, perhaps the most insidious has been the denial of her physical powers."

This sentence kicks off the first article in an anthology on women and sports, *Out of the Bleachers*, which sends the myth of female frailty to the showers.

Editor Stephanie Litwin's collection of 20 essays, biographies and autobiographies made a one-time-cheerleader-drop-out who used to hate gym go out and buy a pair of sturdy sneakers and join the office softball team.

Inspiration comes in tidbits gleaned from the essays Litwin chose, such as: women today are swimming faster than Tarzan did in his prime (Shane Gould's current women's world record for the 400-meter freestyle is a pool-length ahead of Johnny Weismuller's men's record in 1927); women hold the records for swimming the English channel; at the 1964 Olympics, 10 of the 26 Soviet women

champions were pregnant.

Inspiration also comes from the stories sportswomen tell: Willye B. White's run from Greenwood, Mississippi to five Olympics; tennis champ Althea Gibson's "I Always Wanted To Be Somebody" and Ann Geracimos' "Memoirs of a Would-Be Swim Champ," the most lyrically compelling article in the book.

Finally, inspiration comes from women's future in sports. Sport is an integral, influential part of society, making equal athletic opportunity for women an important issue, not just for athletes, but for all concerned with equality between the sexes. Men's domination in sport "reinforces the attitude that national decision making is the sole province of men," one contributor, Harry Edwards, writes.

Equal athletic opportunity, then, could provide one of the bases for equality between men and women—as it already is doing in China, where "women's carefully cultivated athleticism both reflects and reinforces their larger status in society," Anne Gibbons writes.

Contributors to the anthology differ on whether athletic equality would best be achieved by segregating or integrating women from the male sports structure. But all agree that equality means equal opportunity in the form of equal male and female athletic budgets, equal athletic

scholarships and equal pay for male and female coaches.

Women's contribution to the future of sports may even lead to a revolution in the current male-dominated structure, which suffers from "vulturist recruiting, economic overextension, drug abuse and heavy emphasis on winning," in the word of Harry Edwards. Such an alternative sports structure would stress cooperation rather than antagonism, participation and self-actualization rather than confrontation and domination—without losing the value of athletic competition and the quest for excellence.

Twin ties the anthology together well, by writing a handy introduction that gives the historical perspective; by dividing the selections into three sections—Physiology and Social Attitudes, Sports-women and the Structure of Women's Sports; by summarizing the arguments elaborated by the contributors; and by including photographs of all sizes, shapes, ages and stages of female athletes.

Out of the Bleachers is published by The Feminist Press, as part of a series intended to—among other goals—"change the sexist education of girls and boys, women and men." Maybe if this book had been written ten years ago, this high-school gym-hater would have been more enthusiastic about sports.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

THEATER

Experiments turn audience into actors

THEATER OF THE OPPRESSED

By Augusto Boal
Urizen Books, \$5.95

By Joel Schechter

Analysts of political theater tend to divide the subject into two categories: "Before Brecht" and "After Brecht." Since the 1920s Brecht's theories and plays have exerted enormous influence on other creators of political theater; but the other creators are often forgotten. Dario Fo, Arienne Mnouchkine, Peter Stein and Augusto Boal remain unknown in the United States; their productions have yet to tour America, and a literature on them is only beginning to appear in English.

Augusto Boal's newly translated book, *Theater of the Oppressed*, is an important collection of essays on post-Brechtian theater. Boal currently resides in Portugal, having been forced to leave Brazil after he was arrested and tortured there by government authorities.

Boal developed innovative, some would say subversive theater practices at the Arena Thea-

ter of Sao Paulo and in Peru and Argentina. The more exciting half of his book recounts these Latin American stage experiments. The other, opening half of the book is an analysis of Aristotelian and Brechtian poetics that will not surprise anyone who has read Brecht's own critiques of Aristotle.

Brecht opposed the Aristotelian concept of cathartic empathy in theater. Instead of encouraging spectators to identify with a protagonist's suffering (a process arousing and purging pity, fear or similar emotions, according to Aristotle), Brecht preferred to distance or estrange his audience from events on stage, allowing spectators to serve as contest judges or jury in their courtroom, the theater.

Boal calls empathy "the most dangerous weapon in the entire arsenal of the theater and related arts (movies and TV)." Empathy, he claims, juxtaposes "two people (one fictitious and one real), two universes, making one of those two people (the real one, the spectator) surrender to the other (the fictitious one, the character) his power of making decisions. The man relinquishes his

power of decision to the image." While Brecht wanted to supplant cathartic empathy with critical consciousness on the part of spectators, Boal seeks to abolish the concept of spectator altogether.

But Boal's program for the transformation of spectators into actors differs markedly from anarchistic, impromptu calls for audience participation that the Living Theatre delivered in its performances a decade ago. In *Paradise Now* the Living Theatre exhorted spectators to free prisoners from local jails. They never freed a single prisoner, as far as I know; at best their performances led to highly publicized debates on whether *Paradise Now* was theater or therapy.

One would have trouble classifying Boal's program as theater or therapy. Boal suggests that spectators ask their own questions to actors during a performance, as in sports events where "commentators interview the athletes and experts" during momentary suspensions of play. The actors should be prepared to answer.

In one chapter Boal suggests that "the actors stop the performance and ask the audience for solutions." Actors would



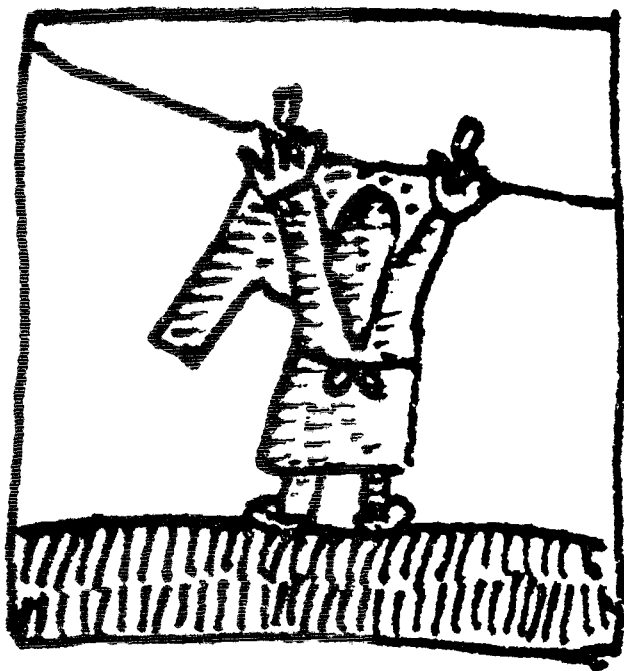
Boal wants to abolish the voyeuristic audience.

then improvise "all suggested solutions, and the audience has the right to intervene, to correct the actions or words of the actors. Stage action performed with such openness to change and intervention "ceases to be presented in a deterministic manner, as something inevitable, as Fate. Man is Man's fate," says Boal.

Previous theories of political theater have focused on the playwright, the play, the director, the actor; Boal may be the first to abolish the role of the audience. The audience was consigned to voyeurism at the end of the nine-

teenth century, when Andre Antoine instructed his actors to perform as if there was an imaginary fourth wall between stage and audience. Boal would destroy the fourth wall, if not the other three, creating a theater where the audience is at times as vocal, visible and "live" as the actors on-stage. Whether audiences would exercise their freedom to influence events after leaving the theater is another, more difficult question. As Brecht was so fond of saying: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." ■

AH!



The Ah! program reflects the play's fairy-tale whimsy.

Anti-nuke fairy tale told with pageantry

By Joel Schechter

The Bread and Puppet Theatre added pageantry to anti-war marches, parading tall papier-mache versions of Uncle Sam and the Virgin Mary, and in the Vietnam War, silent replicas of the war in Vietnam played out Bread and Puppet

is once again creating political pageants. After a few years of less politically engaged activity, during which time religious imagery dominated their "Domes of Resurrection Circus" plays, the group has used the legend of St. George for a fable about nuclear politics.

Nuclear disaster takes the form of a ten-foot long, fiery red drag-

on in their new production, *Ah!*, which recently toured Scotland, London, Amsterdam and some American cities. The dragon is slain by a contingent of sword-wielding women, the "International Union of Washer Women." Portrayed by actors wearing papier mache heads, these women sew and wash clothing in unison and raise children in earlier, calmer scenes. Later one of them is arrested for displaying an anti-nuclear slogan; the other I.U.W.-W. members follow her example and march with placards saying "No" to nuclear proliferation in the closing sequence. Their triumphant march may be a puppeteer's fantasy, but it is inspired by an actual anti-nuclear protest at the White House, where novelist Grace Paley and others were arrested last winter.

Bread and Puppet is "children's theater" not only because youngsters enjoy seeing the colorful, cartoon spectacle of a winged dragon being slain; but also because it offers adults and children re-invented fairy tales, where the tactics and optimism of dragon-slayers are given to anti-nuclear demonstrators. The performance is, to use demonstrator Grace Paley's words, "a small, quiet kind of simple thing." Instead of militancy and didacticism, it offers the naivete and simplicity of a medieval morality play.

Schumann's theater group lives on Vermont farmland when not touring, and its work shows remnants of the past decade's "back to the land" communalism. The company's most wittily staged scenes are pastorals, humorous utopian visions in which miniature cardboard cows produce cardboard cartons of milk amidst the green, hand-painted hills of Vermont. In the

accompaniment of live fiddle music. Such scenes offer comfort, the "ah!" of the new work's title: a sigh of relief which the washerwomen emit after their machine completes its spin dry cycle. The masks, puppets and

music of Bread and Puppet evoke a comic alternative to our self-destructive technology. ■ Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama, where he is also the editor of *Theater* magazine.

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ESSAYS



The many facets of a great black author

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THE FUTURE IN THE PRESENT: SELECTED WRITINGS.

By C.L.R. James
Lawrence Hill, \$12.95

MARINERS, RENEGADES AND CASTAWAYS: THE STORY OF HERMAN MELVILLE AND THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

By C.L.R. James
Bewick Editions (1443)

Bewick, Detroit, MI 48214,
\$3.00

By Paul Buhle

C.L.R. James is the author of *The Black Jacobins* and was one of the early leaders of Pan-Africanism. He has produced studies in antiquity, observations on contemporary popular culture, literary criticism, fiction, labor journalism and studies in the evolution of class conflict. James has offered up his books, pamphlets, essays and polemics between

political commitments. Not nearly eighty, he has not stopped running or musing.

James had from the beginning the advantage of a double-vision. He has been able to see the West as it sees itself and simultaneously to look at us with the eyes of the Third World. Born in Trinidad, he received a classic British education, and might have remained a provincial island schoolteacher and black novelist, save for his love of cricket and his rising sense of nationalism. In the early 30s James travelled to Britain and worked with his one-time childhood playmate, George Padmore, in an anti-colonial agitation that blossomed into the African revolutions. James' commitment to the Third World did nothing to diminish his faith in the working people of the industrial nations. He joined the Independent Labour Party and developed an interest in sports and literature as expressions of striving for a different social order. In subsequent decades he has divided his time between Britain, the West Indies and the U.S.

The books under review offer a variety of subject matters, forms of political and cultural writing with the same, single purpose. *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, written more than fifteen years ago but now published for the first time, explains the background and key events of Nkrumah's rise and fall. James uses the fate of a continent for an example of the crisis in world civilization and the prospects for democratic resolution. On the one side, he places the entire weight of the colonial tradition, the pressures upon Ghana by imperialist economics, and the limitations of efforts by even the Communists in the advanced countries to escape condescension and misunderstanding of the revolution. He then analyzes meticulously the will of villagers and former villagers to seize their own fate. Characteristically, he finds bonds expressed in the peo-

ple's music as much as formal political structures: "Sometimes pathetic, sometimes vastly comic, ranging from the sublime to ridiculous, but always vibrant with the life that only a mass of ordinary people can give." They make Nkrumah, a protege of James and other early Pan-Africanists, a hero, but he fails to use their momentum, energies and perception.

Mariners, Renegades and Castaways and the collected essays that make up *The Future in the Present* carry his analysis across decades and continents. Readers familiar with James' work will be fascinated by a hitherto-obscure short story published in 1929, treating the slum life of West Indian women with the literary touch of Dickens and the journalist's eye for exotic character and language. James analyzes West Indian cultural subjects, from sports (cricket) to music (calypso) and literature (George Lamming, Wilson Harris and V.S. Naipul). James hails black accomplishments in England and the U.S. He assails the degeneration of the Third International after Lenin and asserts the will of workers to realize even against the labor and Communist bureaucracy, the vision of freedom held up by the great philosophers and revolutionaries.

From Athenian Greece to the early CIO to the Hungarian Revolt of 1956 and the Black Power movement of the late 1960s, he draws a line so sharp and clear that pessimism at continual defeats and the welter of confusion at the sheer diversity of events seems to vanish for a moment. *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways*, James' literary study, almost completely ignored at the time of its original publication in 1953, offers up Melville as the great observer of modern character: Ahab as capitalist, the crew as workers, and Ishmael as the intellectual who must choose where to throw his lot.

"No mean or calculating spirit can ever mobilize masses of people for a revolution," James warns in *Nkrumah*. To read him is to know that, at the very least, such faith can produce unforgettable prose. At the most, it is to share his belief that the coils tightening around the prospects for humankind also bind us closer together, and that every avenue for human expression can become a means of escape from destruction.

Paul Buhle is Director of the Oral History of the American Left, Tamiment Library, New York University, and co-editor of *A Concise History of Woman Suffrage* (University of Illinois, 1978).

CULTURE SHOCK

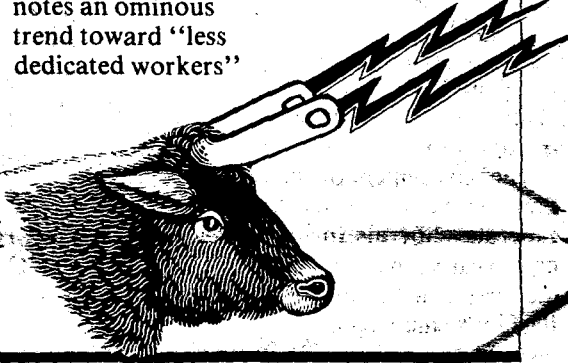
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FILMS

Standing on principle down under

By Lenny Rubinstein

Phillip Noyce, director of the feature film *Newsfront*, is energetic proof of a new Australian cinema, one that is nationalist and also socially concerned. In *Newsfront*, reporters' decisions reveal the tensions of a McCarthy-like era in Australia.

"I'm not interested in making movies about bank robberies that might happen anywhere," says the 28-year-old Noyce. He is just as adamant about the audience he had in mind for *Newsfront*. "This film was not made for an American audience; it was made for my people, not for export, and has aroused a great deal of debate."

That debate, Noyce explains, centers on the years of Liberal Party rule, and particularly the 17 years marked by the leadership of Prime Minister Robert Menzies.

"Menzies is seen by many as the architect of a great south-seas civilization and the creator of an expanding free enterprise economy in Australia after WW II," says Noyce. "But he was also a ruthless manipulator of public opinion. As the film shows, he tried to outlaw the Communist Party by playing up the 'Red Peril' and he also invoked the 'Yellow Peril,' the fear of Asian immigration."

The replacement of the Labour Party Government by Menzies' Liberals—liberals in name, but conservative by nature—marks the first conflict in the lives of the film's characters: the cameramen, editors and producers of the Cinetone Newsreel Company. One of those editors, Geoff McDonald (Bryan Brown), had already displayed his dislike of Menzies by altering a newsreel so that the new Prime Minister was shown giving a Nazi salute. When the drive to ban Communists begins, this same editor reluctantly crosses out a reference to dictatorship in a key narration.

Another character, the chief cameraman Len Maquire, (Bill Hunter), refuses to buckle under



Above: scanning the rushes. Insert: director Phillip Noyce. Right: filming the news.

and becomes the film's principal protagonist. He openly refuses to accept anti-Communist handbills from the local Catholic priest, an act that furthers an estrangement from his devout wife.

"What I've attempted to show is how a man like Maquire takes a stand," says Noyce. "It all seems straightforward enough: his brother Frank goes off to America to make his fortune and returns not only with an American accent and girl-friend, but also with a job offer for Len."

"Frank is representative of American influences, while Len represents the way Australia was and could have been. Frank deliberately sidesteps the question

of control in his job offer and Len is tempted, as any country like Australia would be in relations with a country like the United States. At the film's end he is tempted again and he refuses; to many Australians that's a wonderful moment."

The importance of America's cultural influence is a constant sub-theme in *Newsfront* and is a topic that fascinates Noyce.

He points out, "The first scene in the film is Chico Marx singing a song for a group of Australian war veterans in 1948 and the song happens to be an Australian folk-tune, *Waltzing Matilda*, that celebrates some of our national traits."

Newsfront is not only a tribute to the old-fashioned morality of its protagonist, but also to the rebirth of the Australian film industry. Bred out of the isolation and self-sufficiency forced upon Australia by the First World War, the native film industry produced dozens of films in the 20s. Closed down by World War II, that industry could not compete with America during the post-war years.

One of the pioneers of the Australian film industry, K.G. Hall, provided the model for the character of A.G. Marwood, (Don Crosby), the general manager of Cinetone.

"It's not just a job, but a great

privilege to be able to work and express yourself in cinema," says Noyce. "There's a pride in Australian skill and craftsmanship, and the new Australian cinema has become a vehicle for the new Australian nationalism."

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Twin nuke towers on screen register modern paranoia

By Michael Massing

The huge concrete condensers that rise so grimly from Three Mile Island have become a powerful icon of our times, an eloquent summation of popular distrust of nuclear power. But as they glared out at us from the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*, from the nightly newscasts, from the front pages of our newspapers, those cylinders bespoke another, more pervasive sentiment that has characterized the recent decade: paranoia.

That fear, and the confusion spawned in it in Pennsylvania, was conveyed in *Harrisburg*, the first of what will surely be a series of documentaries on the impact, and implications, of the harrowing events of the independently-produced film concerns itself less

with probing the whys and wherefores of the event than with projecting a scarifying, stylized sense of the psychological dividends the accident has provided us.

Throughout *Harrisburg's* 20-minute duration, the concrete cylinders of Three Mile Island have center stage. We glimpse them at various times of day, in different types of weather, framed by a house, a highway, a farm. Simultaneously, a series of voices from the radio boom forth with a stream of claims and counter-claims, appeasement and accusation, about the relative seriousness of the accident and the degree to which public safety is threatened. The static-ridden cacophony of unidentified voices reflects the confusion of the event as it unfolded.

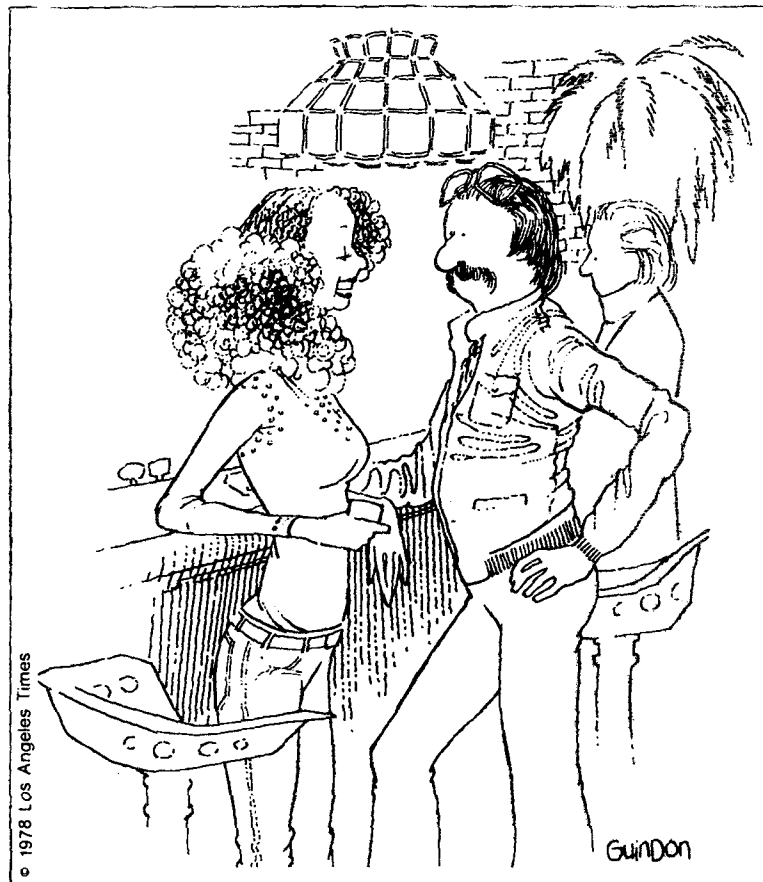
The producers of *Harrisburg*—Andrew Phillips, Ian Wood and Matthew Seig—have taken tech-

nology to task. But, like those who would extend their indictment of nuclear energy to all forms of advanced technology, *Harrisburg* takes the process too far. Nary a soul appears in the film, with the exception of a few anti-nuke demonstrators at the very end. Though an effective metaphor for the sinister implications of nuclear reactors, this studied exclusion of the human element leaves out those who suffer the consequences of the technology's abuse.

Harrisburg is perhaps too awed by the technology it indicts. But it has caught one of the meanest elements the accident has bequeathed to our psyches as we steel ourselves for the 1980s. ■

For more information, contact: Emerald City Productions, 350 W. 46th St., #3, NYC 10036.

Guindon



"Really? I'm shallow, too."

DELAYED REACTIONS

It may take years for Vietnam Vets' psychological wounds to show, and years more for the Veterans' Administration to do something about them.

By Jack Colhoun

TODAY I FEEL I COULD GO down and touch the earth. I think the decision is great for me and other Vietnam veterans who need help. Many of them are hiding in the closet, and we need vast advertising to tell them to reach out."

Stephen Gregory, a decorated combat veteran of the Vietnam war, said this as he stood on the steps of the Rockville, Md., courthouse on March 2. Montgomery County Circuit Court Judge John Mitchell had just decided to release Gregory from jail on probation, while he undergoes psychiatric treatment for "traumatic war neurosis." Two years ago Gregory was sentenced to 16 years in prison for taking eight hostages at gunpoint in a suburban Washington, D.C., bank in Silver Spring, Md.

Judge Mitchell's decision to place Gregory on probation could have important implications for hundreds of thousands of the more than 2.5 million veterans who served in Vietnam. Tens of thousands of Vietnam vets have filled the nation's jails and received less-than-honorable discharges from the military because of the difficulties they encountered adjusting to life in the States after returning from Vietnam. Untold thousands of Vietnam vets suffer silently from combat-induced psychological ailments.

After dropping out of high school at 17, Stephen Gregory enlisted in the Marine Corps. By the time he was 18, he was fighting in Vietnam. On his first day in combat, his company came under constant fire. On his second day, 14 members of his platoon were killed, including his best friend, whose body was blown away before his eyes. During his 1969 tour of duty in Vietnam, Gregory saw more than 350 days of combat, and received citations, including the Bronze Star and a Purple Heart.

Back in the States, Gregory was discharged from the Marines three days after having left the combat zone. Before he was able to trade in his fatigues for civvies, Gregory was convicted of assault in Ocean City, Md., after being taunted by a young man for being a "soldier boy." The Marines Corps issues Gregory an undesirable discharge in connection with the civilian assault conviction.

At home in Silver Spring, Gregory experienced flashbacks and visions of the faces of dead Vietnamese he had befriended. After a series of disappointing jobs as a bill collector, he found himself unable to get a better job because of his less-than-honorable discharge. His wife divorced him and did not allow him to visit his daughter. His numerous fights included one in which he injured his father. At least three times he attempted suicide.

When he entered the Citizens Bank and Trust Co. of Silver Spring in February 1977, Gregory had reached his breaking point. For six hours, he held eight hostages at gunpoint, experiencing flashbacks that caused him to fire more than 200 shots in the walls and airducts. Gregory later said he had thought "the Viet Cong were coming after me." He took no mon-

ey and did not injure his hostages. He told one of them, "I want them to put me in a place where I can play basketball and get help." The courts sentenced him to 16 years in prison.

The Gregory case came to the attention of a small, but growing, network of veterans, psychologists, psychiatrists, lawyers, and former anti-war activists concerned about the delayed psychological readjustment problems of Vietnam combat veterans. In Gregory's resentencing hearing before Judge Mitchell this March, Stephen Sonnenberg, a Howard University psychiatrist specializing in mental problems of survivors of catastrophes, told the court Gregory suffers from "survivor syndrome." John Wilson, a Cleveland State University psychologist specializing in the readjustment problems of Vietnam veterans, testified that Gregory, like hundreds of thousands of Vietnam vets, suffered in addition from "delayed combat stress syndrome."

Invisible vets.

Before he resigned as President Carter's Special Assistant on Mental Health, Peter Bourne wrote: "More than 2.5 million Americans served in Vietnam; yet in many ways it is as though they never went, because America did not want to notice they had gone."

Ron Bitzer of the Veterans Education Project in Washington, D.C., notes that a high percentage of currently imprisoned vets were arrested soon after they were discharged, often with bad paper discharges that limited employment and social opportunities. According to 1974 Government Accounting Office statistics, 125,000 Vietnam vets are in local, state, and federal prisons.

For other vets, discharge from the military ushered in a period of relief and good times. "After this peaceful interlude," says Sarah Haley, a social worker at the Boston VA hospital, "many veterans suddenly experienced recurrent intrusive dreams, nightmares, daytime images, and waves of painful memory, and denial, numbing, and constriction." Sometimes this delayed combat stress reaction is triggered by a stressful situation similar to the Vietnam experience. Charles Figley, an Indiana University psychologist and editor of a new book, *Stress Disorders among Vietnam Veterans*, says a hot, humid day on a crowded street buzzed by a low-flying airplane may be enough to unleash a flood of painful Vietnam memories. Figley emphasizes, however, that the normal combat stress reaction is not violent, but rather strong feelings of anger, resentment, tension and depression, all emotions associated with the original Vietnam war stress.

In a 1977 study describing the problems encountered by vets in their transition to civilian life, John Wilson also found a psychic "numbing" which can last from five to ten years. A returned vet stops experiencing life emotionally, as a means of protecting himself from the lingering psychic pains of Vietnam.

L. Neff told the American Psychological Association in 1975, Vietnam veterans are "invisible patients with an invisible (nonexistent) illness," whose symptoms do not constitute an officially diag-

nosed entity. Dr. Chaim Shatan has reported that vets have frequently been denied treatment and disabilities by the VA because their psychiatric problems were not officially recognized. Other Vietnam vets have been judged by the VA to be suffering from "pre-existing psychic vulnerability," unrelated to combat in Vietnam, according to Sarah Haley of the Boston VA. Haley also notes that in the past, VA hospitals have not even inquired if vets who came for help had been in combat in Vietnam.

A national program?

Since the early 1970s, Congress has considered legislation creating a national treatment program for Vietnam vets. Although the Senate has passed a bill for the last four Congresses, the proposed legislation has never gotten out of the House Veterans Affairs Committee. The White House has given lukewarm support to these bills at best, but the VA has opposed their passage, as have old-line veterans' organizations such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Until recently, the old-line vets organizations held a majority of votes in the House committee, reflecting the belief of many World War II and Korean war vets that the Vietnam war was not different from earlier wars and Vietnam vets did not have special needs. Some older vets even hold Vietnam vets responsible for losing the war.

Since the 96th Congress convened in January 1979, the prospects for passage of a vets readjustment counseling program have improved. The Carter administration backs the bill from the White House to the Veterans Administration. The Carter administration bill earmarks \$9.9 million to establish a treatment program. Critics of the administration bill in the "Vietnam caucus" of the House of Representatives observe that the VA estimates as many as 1.5 million veterans from Vietnam and other wars may benefit from such treatment. VA officials deny the charge that the \$9.9 million allotted by the Office of Management and Budget was determined more by what was considered politically expedient in these balanced-budget conscious times than by the needs of veterans.

Tim Kolly, a legislative aide to Rep. David Bonior, believes the bill will pass both houses of Congress this session. But Kolly and other aides in the Vietnam caucus believe the bill is inadequate. "To provide any genuine readjustment counseling," Kolly said to *ITT*, "much more funding is needed, and there must be provisions included allowing the VA to contract private psychiatrists specializing in treating Vietnam veterans."

Kolly noted that when Stephen Gregory was placed on probation to receive treatment, there were no facilities on the East Coast to care for him. Gregory was sent to the VA Medical Center in Cleveland, where he now reports conditions are less than adequate. Even if there were more facilities for the treatment of combat stress disorders, Kolly says, retraining of VA employees would be necessary.

For many vets, whatever compromise is reached by the Carter administration and Congress in regard to a national treatment program for vets will be more than a decade too late. But for many others who were discharged honorably and stayed clear of the law, the establishment of an adequate national program would be highly beneficial. Wilson says, "We're going to be flooded with delayed-stress veterans." By the mid-80s, it is possible the number will go as high as 400,000.

Jack Colhoun was for six years editor of *AMEX-Canada*, the former magazine published by anti-Vietnam war draft sisters and deserters exiled in Ca...



Jessie Burn